National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. | Without Concealment---Without Compromise. | EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

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The Southern Press, South.

From the Macon (Ga.) Journal and Messenger.

NEGROES AS MASTER MECHANICS.

We hope that no reader will fail to peruse the communication signed "Burke," in our columns to-day. It is from the pen of a legal gentleman of ability—one who is familiar with the existing laws. His argument is not only conclusive, but overwhelming as far as it goes; and we understand it to be the intention of the writer to pursue the subject in future. Let the candid friends of the South and her institutions, follow him through the series, and then like honest men determine who is right and who wrong, in regard to the propriety of employing negroes as Master Mechanics.

The doctrine which we maintain on this subject, and which "Burke" so ably advocates, is the doctrine of Mr. Calhoun, and it is the true Southern doctrine. Every act either directly or indirectly, to educate the slave, to give him intelligence and to place him on an equality with white men, just to that extent endangers the institution of Slavery. A distinguished statesman has said that "*nine-tenths* of the ideas which we obtain are derived from our business and social relations, and only one-tenth from books." We very properly exclude the negro from the acquisition of book knowledge. Why, then place him as a master-workman, in positions where he is compelled to think, and where he can so easily acquire information? Why exclude him from administering *drugs*, and yet allow him to have charge of workshops, where he can manufacture weapons of death at pleasure? Nothing but sheer cupidity could induce any thinking man to pursue such a policy. We are not in favor of restricting slave labor one iota father than is necessary to protect and perpetuate the institution itself. In doing this, we do simple justice to a large, worthy and meritorious class of white men.

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COLORED MECHANICS—MASTER WORKMEN.

"Sic utere tuo ut alienum non lædas."

"Use your own right and property so as not to injure that of another," is a maxim almost as venerable as the common law, and commends itself to our warmest regard, not so much on account of its age as for its intrinsic reasonableness and justice. That any one should, in this enlightened age, seek to weaken its force or lessen the weight of its injunction is matter of surprise; but it is no less strange than true. Certain writers in the Macon *Telegraph*, over the signature of "Bibb" and "Cotton Planter," together with the Editor of the Rome *Southerner*, seem to be impressed with the belief that it is a species of cruel tyranny and a high-handed invasion of the rights of property to impose restrictions upon its unlimited use, especially in reference to such *slaves* as their owners would make *Master Mechanics* and *Contractors*.

That every society has a right to pass such municipal regulations and to lay such restrictions upon property and its employment as will be necessary for its own preservation, we presume no one will undertake to deny, for from what other source than this does the governing power of a community derive its authority to burthen a man's property by levying and collecting a tax? The tax itself is as much a part of the property of him who pays it as his negro, his house, or his lot; and yet no one has ever questioned the right of government, whether the individual consent or not to levy and collect taxes. At the very foundation of the business it will appear that the surrender of a portion of our *absolute* rights is essential to the establishment and maintenance of government; and, that government cannot be carried on without restriction upon property must be quite evident.

But can property itself exist and be enjoyed without government? No one except a regular Fourierite could so think, for if it can, then are all the enactments against its disturbance, and theft, a mere farce. The good old rule—the simple plan that he may take who has the power, and he may keep who can—would scarcely suffice to quiet the alarms and allay the apprehensions of the most enthusiastic advocates for unlimited dominion over, and the unrestrained right of disposing of and employing property as the lord and master thereof listeth. When they come to look candidly and impartially at this question, and shall cease to regard it through the distorted medium of avarice and a feeling of cupidity, they will be apt to conclude that there is really some virtue in laws, practically enforcing the difference between *meum* and *tuum*.

But government, although a necessary is quite an expensive contrivance, and requires money as well as labor to set and keep it in motion. Without burthening property and its employment with restrictions, it would be impossible to carry on government, and without government it is impossible either to acquire or keep property—hence some restrictions upon property and its employment are necessary to its acquisition and protection.

A renowned English statesman once said, with seeming paradox, "the more the restraint the more the liberty." Contradictory as this sentiment may seem, it is nevertheless true. We all require "the truth to set us free." Restraint upon our evil passions and propensities, leaves more room for the virtues (which alone can make us free and happy) to grow and flourish. The truth is not new. Two centuries ago, the greatest master of the human heart who has ever recorded his discoveries, proclaimed it in numbers so soft and inviting, as to win the heart and convince the understanding of all who have since hung upon his pages.

Lucio.—Why, how now, Claudio? Whence comes this restraint?
Claudio.—From too much liberty, my Lucio, liberty;
As surfeit is the father of much fast,
So every scope, by the immoderate use,
Turns to restraint. Our natures do pursue
(Like rats that ravin down their proper bane)
A thirsty evil: and when we drink we die.
Measure for Measure, Act 1, *Section* 3.

These remarks are true in regard to all kinds of property, but more especially are they true in regard to property in *slaves*, and this for reasons that must strike the mind at a single glance. Slaves are human beings, and as such are endowed with volition and reason. This fact makes the tenure of property in slaves more delicate and precarious than that of any other species of property. Again—the law regards the relation between master and slave as a very interesting one, and while it considers the slave as property it nevertheless extends to him its protection, and secures to him the enjoyment of such qualified rights as it has left him.

Thus, the master, in the enjoyment of this property, has no right, if he sees proper to do so, to kill his slave. He may give him moderate correction, but he dare not whip him cruelly or unmercifully. He may compel him to do a reasonable amount of work, but he must not work him to death—he may appropriate his earnings, but he must provide him with suitable and healthy food and raiment. He may command his services six days in the week, but the seventh the law gives him as a day of rest; and when he is old and worn-out, the master cannot turn him out to die, "like an old horse," neither can he, at any stage of his existence, confer freedom upon him, actually or virtually, directly or indirectly, as we shall presently show. He is property, it is true; but he cannot do with him as he pleases. He dare not send him to school; neither can he instruct him to read or write. The art of printing he is forbidden to learn, and he is enjoined not to administer medicine—he can only proclaim the truths of the gospel to a very limited extent. He cannot go into the army, or the navy, for neither his master, or any one else, can allow him the use of fire-arms or powder. His master cannot, under the law, employ him as a clerk in the buying-and selling of goods, wares and merchandize; neither can he make him his general agent for that purpose. He cannot make him a proprietor of a Yankee "grog-shop" or a Georgia "grog-shop;" he may, indeed, only give him such quantities as will enable him to supply others.

These are a few of the restrictions which the law imposes upon the free use and enjoyment of this species of property Has any one ever questioned the right of the legislature to impose them, or is there a man in the community that would desire to see them removed? We think not, and why? Because they are wise and salutary, highly conducive not only to the public peace and tranquility, but also to the public interest. Some of them take from the slave every thing like inducement to plunder either his master or others, by denying him a purchaser for his stolen articles. Others of them, again, by preventing him from the too free indulgence in ardent spirits, have a tendency to keep him in proper subjection to his owner and other white persons of the community. Depriving him of the use of fire-arms and other deadly weapons, takes away all inducement to revolt, and prevents him from succeeding in insurrections. Denying him the knowledge of letters diminishes his own means of escape, and deprives him of the power to assist others of his color in doing so. Of such capital importance did the legislature esteem a portion of these laws, that judges are strictly enjoined to give them in special charge twice a year to the grand juries of each county.

But this is not the only kind of property upon the enjoyment and disposition of which the law has imposed restrictions. We have restrictions upon money. This no man may loan for more than the lawful interest—neither may he employ in gaming or bribery. He cannot set up a bawdy-house with it, or use it for the promotion and encouragement of public and open lewdness, or for his private gratification with courtezans. In fact, he must not use it for the promotion of vice or in violation of the public law. But this is not all. He must use it so as not to annoy, disturb, harrass, or oppress his neighbor. The owner of a tract of land cannot erect a nuisance thereon—he cannot, upon his own land, rear and dedicate to the filthy uses of *Cloasina* a temple so near his neighbor as to fill the atmosphere which he breathes with noxious and offensive odors—neither can he, by building a wall upon his own land, shut out the light from his neighbor's dwelling, or establish a forge so near him as to endanger his house from the sparks.

We might easily multiply instances, but deem these sufficient to satisfy the most incredulous. We now come to the important question presented in the communication of "Cotton Planter," viz: How can the restrictions and laws limiting and throwing around the employment of slaves in certain vocations hasten their manumission? We are of opinion that nothing has such a tendency to check manumission as these very restrictions. If the restrictions will lead to manumission, (and by these we mean only such as are clearly promotive of the public welfare, interest, and general well-being, such as tend to the preservation of the property itself,) why haven't they, when applied to every other species of property, led to its disuse? So far from this they have been the very means of its salvation.

But, in the next place, why should a law restricting slaves in acquiring such a knowledge of the mechanic arts as to enable them to become *master-mechanics* tend to their enfranchisement? It would seem that the ignorance of the slave is essential to his bondage—hence the law prohibiting him from being instructed in letters and penmanship. Enlighten any nation, and they will become free—keep them in ignorance, and they submit patiently to the rule of a master. We have always been impressed with the belief that nothing had so great a power to quicken and invigorate the individual faculties, or to enlighten the understanding, as the high and constant study and practice in the mechanic arts. Indeed, almost every useful invention in art or science has been the result of deep research, combined with mechanical skill. As a few instances, take the invention of the quadrant and compass, the telescope, and Dr. Franklin's discoveries in electricity, some of the wonderful fruits of which we are now enjoying, but the full triumph of which we, in all probability, may never live to witness.

Now can it be possible that the builder of one of our splendid ocean palaces, and also the engine which propels it, or the contriver and maker of that mighty machine which turns off daily its thousands of yards of the most elegant and useful silks; or which propels the heavy laden train at lightning speed, can long remain in ignorance of the first elements of an education—that he will fail to possess himself of the key which shall open to him the rich casket of knowledge. We think not. At all events, the builder of engines, and he was a master-mechanic, is entitled to the free use of his tools, has acquired skill enough to construct implements of death—to furnish himself and others with deadly weapons. Here, then, by making master mechanics of negroes, you are accomplishing them in that knowledge which the law denies them—you are furnishing them with those implements which the law declares they shall not possess—you are doing that indirectly which you cannot do directly, and at the thought of which you would shudder were you to see it once directly.

But again—what portion of the present slave population of Georgia, or of any of the Southern, Middle or Western States, is employed in the mechanic arts? We have not the means of ascertaining, but from our own observation should feel no hesitancy in concluding that not more than the one hundredth part. So far then, as the rights of the owners of this species of property could be effected by such restriction, this interest would be small. What effect has this employment of slaves had upon the value of slave property generally? Has it rendered the other slaves much more valuable, and would the return of this number of slaves to the ordinary occupation of their fellows depreciate the value of slave property? We opine that it would be but a drop in the bucket, and we therefore feel no dread of emancipation from the depreciation of such property, brought about by the causes which have excited the alarm of "Cotton Planter" and his worthy co-laborers.

Again, we assert that the practice of allowing negro mechanics (for none are prohibited but *builders of houses*) to become master-workmen or contractors, contravenes the spirit and policy, if not the letter, of that clause of the penal code prohibiting trafficking with slaves for more than a dollar in money and other things of value, rice, corn, oats, barley, cotton, &c., as also of the acts of 1801 and 1818. That this practice holds out a strong temptation to dealers to violate the clause of the penal code above referred to, must be evident from the fact that it affords slaves many opportunities, by infidelity to their masters and by dishonest and discreditable practices with their customers, and in other modes, to accumulate considerable sums of money; and sad experience teaches us that "gold has whispered silence" to men of sterner virtue than many of those to whom slaves have been in the habit of resorting, to make their purchases. And he who procures, by his acts or his words, the violation of a criminal law, although he be not present, aiding and assisting in the perpetration of the crime, cannot be held guiltless.

The great object which the legislature had in the passage of the acts of 1801 and 1818 was to prevent the increase of the free colored population of the State of Georgia. Not content with prohibiting manumission in terms, they go on, and by the 4th section of the latter act (Prince, 795,) declare, that "all and every will and testament, deed (whether by way of trust or otherwise,) contract, agreement or stipulation, or other instrument of writing or by parol made and executed for the purpose of effecting, or *endeavoring* to effect the manumission of any slave or slaves, either directly, by conferring or *attempting* to confer freedom upon such slave or slaves, or *indirectly* or *virtually*, by allowing and securing, or attempting to allow or secure to such slave or slaves the right or privilege of working for his, her or themselves, FREE FROM THE CONTROL OF THE MASTER OR OWNER of such slave or slaves or of enjoying the PROFITS of his, her or their labor or skill, shall be, and the same are hereby declared to be null and void." The act then goes on to FORFEIT the slave, and to impose a fine of $1000 upon the person making the attempt, and upon every other person concerned in carrying out or in endeavoring to carry out the attempt.

In the late case of Robinson vs. King (6 Ga. Supreme Court Reports, 539) the following clause in a Will was held to be void, as in conflict with the act of 1818, against the manumission of slaves: "It is my will that my old servant Witt, and her five children and her husband may be *made* to live comfortable, under the superintendence of my friends A. and B., into whose care and under whose protection I do hereby *give* and place the negroes herein named, in view of their being treated with humanity and justice, *subject to the laws made and provided in such cases.*" We wish we had room to extract a portion of the able and luminous decision delivered by Judge Nisbet in this case; but the extended length of his article admonishes us that it is time to draw to a close. This case certainly proves that placing slaves, or attempting to place them, even by application, where they can enjoy privileges not given to other slaves, (and that this will be the case with colored master-mechanics and contractors we have already endeavored to show,) is a violation of the act of 1818. The policy of that act is sufficiently obvious, and needs no vindication from any one who would gladly see safeguards thrown around the institution of Slavery: It is enough to know that it has met with the acquiescence of the people, remained on the statute books for thirty-one years, and that, during all that time, no attempt has been made by the legislature either to repeal or modify it.

There is another question in this controversy relative to the equal rights of citizens who own slave mechanics, which we shall be glad to discuss at some future time. In what we have written, we have "nothing extenuated, nor set down aught in malice." Our object has been, by a free and candid discussion of this question, to elicit the truth; and if we have succeeded in awakening a general interest in a topic so important, we are amply rewarded for our labor.

BURKE.

From the (Gallatin, Tenn.) Tenth Legion.

COMMERCIAL NON-INTERCOURSE.

We hope that the democratic press of the State will not cease the agitation of this important measure. Throughout the late canvass, our Governor elect advocated the propriety of the South adopting such constitutional measures as would effectually put a stop to the aggressions of the North upon the rights of the South. Governor Brown denounced [illegible] and threw his whole strength of mind and fancy against any such proposition. He drew dire sketches of the horrors of disunion and held up nullification clothed in colors of hideousness to frighten our people. Many were alarmed at the "raw-head and bloody bones" of the Gov., as he pointed the spectacle of a civil war—a fair country all desolate—the North arrayed against the South, father against son, brother against brother—sacking and burning of cities and towns—stoppage of the mails—severance of telegraph wires, and all the ten thousand images that a distempered fancy could conjure. But the people of Tennessee supported the measure of non-commercial intercourse in the person of Gen. Trousdale, and declared that they were ready to adopt any and all constitutional measures to vindicate their rights. That a properly devised system upon the part of the South would put an immediate and effectual stop to Northern encroachments beyond a doubt. Let us examine the matter fairly.

The South furnishes a market for the manufactures of the North and imported goods, while we, in the South, send the greater part of our produce abroad: the Eastern market is not sufficient for our planters. But the trade between us is not direct, for we have first to ship our produce to a Southern market, and take the proceeds North to purchase our supplies. This is a decided advantage on their side, and their permanent prosperity depends greatly upon its continuance. Had we no other reason than the great pecuniary loss, without considering the injuries, present and future, we are sustaining by their encroachments upon our peculiar institutions, we would be justified in adopting a system of non-intercourse. Without counting the millions of dollars in damages they are inflicting upon us in destroying the confidence of our citizens in the security of their slave property; a true policy would point us to the necessity of trading at home instead of going among the enemies of our institutions and assisting them in their rapid increase of wealth, and consequent power to do us injury. Then what is the proposed plan to remedy the evil? It is simple, practicable, effectual and constitutional.

The system proposes that we, of the South, will purchase at Southern markets such goods as are now procured in the Northern ports. That our legislatures shall encourage the building of home manufactures by all measures within their power, and facilitate the intercourse between the cities and towns of the South, by spreading a net work of railways over the country, and cutting suitable canals, so that our merchants can transport goods to every town and hamlet, at a small cost, and our farmers their produce, from the cotton bale and tobacco hogs-head down to the butter and eggs of the dairy-maid, to the best markets. Under a well devised system of internal improvement, Charleston, Richmond Va., New Orleans, and St. Louis, would be next door neighbors, and the vast territory of the South be dotted with thriving manufactories, able to supply the wants of our people at greatly reduced prices.

The strictest constructionist can find nothing unconstitutional in this. The constitution does not prohibit any person or community from trading where they please, but on the contrary, secures the right. Nor are we aware of any law of Congress forbidding our people from withdrawing our custom from the North. The proposed non-intercourse is nothing more or less than a determination of our people to buy our goods at home instead of going abroad for them. This, then, is the whole story.

Can it be effectual. It can. Suppose the people of Gallatin and Sumner counties should enter into a voluntary agreement by public meeting, or otherwise, and resolve, that instead of sending to New York and Cincinatti, for articles made there by mechanics, who are paid but a small pittance for their labor, that they would patronize their home mechanics in future. And it would be right; because thousands of these Abolitionist and Free Soil mechanics are but poorly compensated, and the manufacturer can send his wares to this county and greatly undersell our own workmen. Would there be anything wrong, then, in ceasing our trade, in this respect, with the cities, and giving our patronage to our own people?

This would be *commercial non-intercourse*, and the very kind we would propose. Is there any disunion in this?

But would our people do this? They would, and why? Because it is to be their *interest* to do so. It will not require much argument to convince our people that we can manufacture, ourselves, and sell cheaper, when we have material at home. But it may be urged that there are many who will not consent to it, and that they cannot be prevented from trading North. We answer that the tremendous power of public opinion will restrain them, and they will fall before it as reeds before the blast. But even the few who venture upon it, will, in the end, find it to their interest to stay at home and trade at Southern markets. The force of the public will is too potent to be withstood and the foolish will act with the wise.

There will on the other hand, be an influence at work in the North, if we act upon this matter promptly, which will operate as a powerful check upon the aggressions upon our rights. The proverbial love of the Yankee for wealth, their undisguised devotion to the "Almighty dollar," is well known. You may commit many an outrage upon him, unresisted, but place your hand in the vicinity of his pocket, and the lion is aroused. In their quest for wealth, upon none have they fattened more than upon the people of the South. We pour millions, yearly, into their coffers, and they literally overflow with the proceeds of our slave labor. Take from them this source of wealth—tell them we will not longer purchase our goods from them at heavy prices, that we will cut loose our commercial intercourse with them, build up our own manufactures, and make our own goods, aye, make them and undersell them in foreign markets, as we are able and can, and these encroachments upon our institutions would cease. They would, in twenty-four hours, be as rabid in defence of the South, as they now are insulting Free-Soilers. But touch their purses and their hypocritical cant for freedom and abolition would be hushed *instanter*. "Put money in thy purse" is the motto upon the live Yankee's forehead in living letters, and their conduct and actions upon this earth is shaped by it in more than one matter. Stop them from plunging their hands into our pockets and extracting millions to add to their bloated wealth, and Anti Slavery agitation would be as dead as Anti-Masonry now is.

But we have unconsciously extended this article longer than we intended, and will conclude with an extract from the Huntsville (Ala.) Advocate, of some months back, to which we call the attention of our readers. It will be noted that the Advocate is a thorough Whig paper:

"The South has a remedy, which, if properly used, would work a wonderful change in Northern aggressive sentiment. *Let the South learn to live at home!* At present the North fattens and grows rich upon the South. We depend upon it for our entire supplies. We purchase all our luxuries and necessaries from the North. We do not depend upon ourselves. We do not encourage enterprise, skill and industry at home; but give preference to that of the North. With us every branch and pursuit in life, every trade, profession and occupation is dependent upon the North. For instance—the Northerners abuse and denounce Slavery and slaveholders, yet our slaves are clothed with Northern manufactured goods, have Northern hats and shoes, work with Northern hoes, ploughs, and other implements, are chastised with Northern made instruments, are working for northern more than southern profit. The slaveholder dresses in northern goods, rides a northern saddle with all the other accoutrements, sports his northern carriage, patronises northern newspapers, drinks northern liquors, reads northern books, spends his money at northern watering places, crowds northern fashionable resorts; in short, his person, his slaves, his farm, his necessaries, his luxuries,—as he walks, rides, sleeps, loafs, lounges, or works, he is surrounded with articles of northern origin.

The aggressive acts upon his rights and his property, arouse his resentment—and on northern [illegible] with a northern pen, with northern ink, he resolves to [illegible] his rights! In northern vessels his products are carried to market; his cotton is ginned with northern gins; his sugar is crushed and preserved by northern machinery; his rivers are navigated by northern steamboats; his mails are carried by northern stages; his negroes are fed by northern bacon, beef, flour and corn; his land is cleared with a northern axe, and a yankee clock sits upon his mantle piece; his floor is swept by a northern broom, is covered with a northern carpet, and his wife dresses before a northern looking glass; his child cries for a northern toy, crows over a northern shoe, and is perfectly happy in having a northern knife; his son is educated at a northern college, his daughter receives the finishing polish at a northern seminary, his doctor graduates at a northern medical college; his schools are supplied with northern teachers, and he is furnished with northern inventions and notions.

The South is thus dependent upon the North. The fault lies with itself. It has the remedy in its own hands. Hitherto it has only grown the raw materials, the north has manufactured them and reaped all the benefits. It has grown rich and prosperous beyond measure; the South has become poor. There should be a change. Necessity and duty alike demand it. Self-respect and self-preservation require it. The South should manufacture first all its "necessaries"—its heavy articles. It has the raw material, water power, and all proper facilities in abundance. When it does this, the North will have learnt a lesson, and we shall be independent and prosperous."

From the Charleston (S. C.) Evening News.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTERFERENCE WITH SLAVERY.

Mr. Editor:—In our notice a few days since on this subject we felt that we were doing our duty to advise the people of the South to plant the question of African slave labor upon its true foundation, the developement of the peculiar resources of our country—in other words, on the industrial basis, and maintain it there against all the encroachments of politics and religion. Since that notice a London paper of the 22d September, has come to hand, and in it we find the following significant paragraph:

"SLAVEHOLDING CHURCHES.—By a late thorough and careful investigation, it appears that the Methodist Church in the United States holds 250,000, the Baptist 225,000, the Presbyterian 80,000, and other denominations 45,000—making 600,000 slaves held directly by Christian Churches. But this by no means fills up the measure of the iniquity; hundreds of thousands are held by monied institutions and individuals in North America by assignment, bonds, mortgages, &c., for almost all the plantations are deeply involved in debt; and thus Christian men in the North are, in fact, slaveholders, while they are not suspected of any interest in the abominable system."

The people of England a few years since thought that philanthropy would effect their designs upon this country, and after the fashion of a Wilberforce excitement instructed their emissaries. But the secret of the Wilberforce excitement transpired in this country, viz: the payment by the English Government of £20,000,000 to the *creditors in London* of the West India planters, not a pound of which got to the West Indies, and hence it was found that the thing would not work twice. Religion is now made to bear the burthen, and if the people of the South are not alive to the danger, the Government of the United States will be brought to perform the same part, not by the instrumentality of philanthropic Wilberforces, but of religious fanatics. We again repeat that religion and politics have nothing to do with the industrial organization of the country. It is the part of these to administer to this organization, not to direct it. Religion was made for man, not man for religion. It was made to mitigate the curse, the first law of which was the law of labor; the law by which the very desert shall be made to bloom as the rose; the law by which the slave Onesimus was returned to his master; the law by which that master was made to pay tribute to Cæsar, because Cæsar protected him in his right of property, and did not pretend to squander it. The Government of Almighty God and the Government of man then, are both intended to watch over the rights of labor—the rights of property.

But in the extract in question there is a subject that should be animadverted upon more fully. We have said that Wilberforce was made a tool of by the bankers of London to get £20,000,000 of bad debts incurred to the planters of the West Indies. By this means they enlisted the Political power. In the extract before us they affect the same thing, that our Southern planting interests are in debt to those who are located at the North, and which have control of the Political Government. Mr. Editor, are the people of England right in this? or if they are not right now, how long will it be before they are right, at the rate we are going on? Is it a notorious fact that slave labor will always be poor labor? or is it for want of the proper organization of that labor in conjunction with the white labor of the country? We have been repeatedly asked why there is so much doubt upon this important subject. The answer is, *that the white labor of the South has not hertofore asserted its rights—not heretofore taken its position in society.* This we trust, however, will be better shown in a few weeks after the first public move has been made on this grand question. Gen. Hammond's response to the call of the mechanics of Charleston will set the ball in motion, and the *raw* staple production of the black labor of the South will not be allowed to go away to become the *wrought* staple production of the white labor of the North. Let us fully establish this great truth in the organization of our Industrial Economy, and we will not find the London papers with a pretext to preach Religious and Political interference to the people of this country. OBSERVER.

From the Memphis (Tenn.) Appeal.

WORTHY OF IMITATION—THE TRUE REMEDY FOR SOUTHERN GRIEVANCES.

ONE of our Memphis Merchants has just returned from laying in a fall and winter stock of goods at the North. In purchasing them *especial* care was taken to deal with those only who are opposed to the fanatical abolition crusade against the South; in doing which he abondoned several houses with which he had formerly dealt, duly informing them of his reason for so doing. This is an example well worthy of imitation, as well as an act of independence and patriotism which should, and no doubt will, entitle him to the highest respect of his fellow citizens, as well as all others possessed of true Southern impulses.

This is beginning at the right end, and managing things in the proper manner. Let the balance of our Southern merchants—or even a *moiety* of them—do likewise, and we shall soon have little or no cause to complain of Northern aggressions upon the domestic institutions of the South. And this reminds us that in 1834, or '5, some of our southern merchants pursued a similar course towards Arthur Tappan—at that day a leading Abolitionist and the prince of Eastern wholesale merchants—which resulted in his becoming a bankrupt, and in putting a quietus to the agitation of the question for a number of years.

We have said all along, and we repeat the assertion, that southern merchants have it in their power, to preserve the rights and interests of the South, as well as the integrity of the Union. Philanthropists may implore, statesmen plan, politicians rave, and conventions denounce, but the southern merchants, and they alone, can calm the troubled waters of dissention between the North and the South, through the all potent and all-convincing argument of the "*almighty dollar.*"

We have been put in possession of another fact by the gentleman above referred to, namely: that the most of the New York merchants profess to be opposed to the agitation of the Slavery question, and are sufficiently anxious to 'define their position" to Western and Southern dealers. Does not this prove what we have again and again asserted, that they are dependent, and feel their dependence upon the [illegible] condition of [illegible] country, that is to be cursed with a —hence their sympathy, real or affected, for southern rights and interests. If this sympathy be *only affected* by individuals of the class with the view of effecting certain immediate and specific objects, it only remains to menace the entire class with the loss of our trade, and it will at once become *real* and *general*.

Instead then, of calling a *general* convention of southern citizens—as has been suggested—to deliberate upon, and remonstrate against northern aggressions, let there be a convention of *merchants only*; if they prefer that mode, the same objects can be effected by means of circulars, setting forth our grievances in plain, earnest, and emphatic language, and presenting the alternative of redress, or a discontinuance of all commercial and business relations. That this will be attended with the happiest results no one can doubt who is at all acquainted with the importance and value to the north of this trade, the dependence it naturally imposes upon its citizens, their proverbial devotion to matters of pecuniary interest, and the influence the monied interest exercises over the political affairs of that section of the Union.

The course suggested to southern merchants is one of *patriotism*. It will not only benefit the rights and interests of the slaveholding states, but, in all probability, preserve the integrity of the Union. Here is a high and holy motive for action, and one which should warm their hearts, arouse their energies, and stimulate them to prompt and continued exertion until the object be achieved. It is one of *interest*, too, should it ultimately be found necessary to transfer our trade to southern channels—in other words, to receive the equivalents for our produce directly from abroad, through the same southern ports through which it is now transmitted. In this connection, we beg leave to quote a portion of an article which we penned and published in the *Appeal* in March last, as follows:

"In a former number of the *Appeal* we assumed the ground that the interest of consumers in the south and southwest, would be promoted by a change in commercial relations with the north, by receiving foreign merchandize direct through the same southern ports to which our surplus products are transmitted. That they would save the cost of re-shipment, northern importers' and merchants' profits, and many orher items of superadded cost besides. We also assumed that the interests of consumers (who are also the producers) are identified with those of the mercantile class, and that whatever promoted the one, must advance the other. Somewhat to our surprise, we have heard this latter possition controverted. We have heard it alleged that the high or low price of merchandize does not effect the interest of our merchants, as they make a certain per centage by way of profits on their merchandize whether high or low and thus the loss falls upon the consumer, or purchaser, alone.

"This is a popular fallacy, as any one will at once acknowledge who will take the trouble to reflect one moment upon the subject. No one will pretend that the consumer will not purchase more when merchandize is low, than when it is high; hence the merchant does a large business, and hence the aggregate of his profits is increased. When merchandize is high, the consumer will purchase nothing that he can well do without, which will diminish the *amount* of the merchant's sales, and his aggregate of profits, of course. For example. We will suppose ten per cent. as the average profit upon goods sold by our merchants. Suppose a merchant to lay in stocks amounting to $100,000 annually at northern prices. If he disposes of the whole of these, his profits are $10,000 per year. If he disposes of but half, his profits are only $5,000 per year, and in the same ratio for any amount of goods sold. If prices are low, the inducement to consumers is increased; if high, the inducement to purchase is diminished—the merchant does less business, and, as a consequence, makes less profit.

"Does it not follow then, that it is the interest of the merchant, as well as the consumer, to cheapen the cost of foreign merchandize—to buy in the cheapest market, in order that he may be enabled to sell cheaper, more rapidly, and in larger quantities? We should certainly think so. If we are correct then, in our assumption, that merchandize imported direct from Europe, as equivalents for our surplus products, and coming through the same channels and received at the same ports to which these products are sent, would be cheaper to consumers and more for their interest, it follows that the same direct trade through southern ports would be more for the interest of our merchants also. Here is one objection, and as we conceive the most important one, to the change of commercial relations with the north, suggested in previous numbers of our paper, disposed of."

From the Columbia (Ga.) Times.

FREE AND SLAVE LABOR.

"P. S.—Since the above was written, we notice that our cotemporary, the Columbus Times, has copied "Bibb's" article from the Macon Telegraph, and endorsed the same by a commendatory preface! We would respectfully inquire of our neighbor, if we understand him also to endorse the insinuation of "Bibb," that we have advocated *Abolition* doctrines, or if he meant the charge that we have raised the question involved our "*demagogical* purposes." Much as we would dislike to renew a controversy with our cotemporary on *any* subject, we cannot be silent when we observe what seems to be a *covert* attempt to inflict a stab upon us, under the wing of another's responsibility.'—*Muscogee Democrat.*

We have already declared it to be our judgment, that the tendency of the doctrine of fettering the slave labor of the South, in reference to its diversity, with restrictions of any sort, was towards Abolitionism; and we are not aware of any good reasons for changing that opinion, or withholding its expression, because the Muscogee Democrat does not happen to agree with us.

We by no means intend to say that the advocate of the proposition to exclude negroes from the mechanic arts, must needs be an Abolitionist, or desires aholition in any form;—for first, such an one may be simply mistaken, and may not view the consequences of the doctrine, in the light that we do. And, again, because we have met, one or two persons, who have suggested, rather than argued, that such a concession to the demands of white labor, might be an act of wise policy on the part of slaveholders—such a concession for example, as the Magyars (the nobles of Hungary) made to the Hungarian peasantry, of certain rights and privileges, which it was evident could not long be withheld from them, in view of the intrigues and machinations of Austria.

But the cases are widely different. In Hungary, justice and the advancing spirit of liberty and equality demanded these concessions, as between the citizens of a common Government, and the equals of a common race. But here the races are different—here compromises of this nature are out of the question; for as we said last week, the "institution must be preserved in its totality, or go down." Here the interests of the whole white race are homogeneous, and are all embarked in the same vessel, whether holders or non-holders of that sort of property. We therefore set our face against any policy that looks to compromising, or tampering with the tenure and value of slave property, as in the last degree weak and dangerous. Mark, from what small beginnings revolutions of this kind, take their rise. Time was, and not many years since, when the Abolition cloud, that now overspreads as with a black pall of prejudice and bigotry the moral and intellectual firmament of the free States, was no bigger than the germ of this question at the South now is. There is wisdom and the philosophy of experience in the French proverb—"*ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute*"—"it is the first step that counts," and it is applicable to this case. Let the first step *not* be taken—let us have no beginnings here, however small, of discussion and excitement on this subject. Let us regard the institution as it is—for good or for evil—and born to its heritage we are responsible for neither—part and parcel of our social being, web and woof of our vital prosperity, and as so interwoven with every fibre of our social existence that it cannot be separated or pulled away, without tumbling down with it the whole system of which it is a part. Good or evil, we are bound to defend it—we are madmen if we do not defend it; and when it is no longer defensible, we are fools if we do not, with our wives and children, quit the country, that is to be cursed with a and death, of home or expatriation, is it wise, prudent or safe, to broach it, while there is the remotest probability that it will affect the value and permaneney, or produce alarm and agitation for the safety of the institution. It is fallacious in the extreme to talk about the interests of "poor mechanics" in this connection. There is a broader view of mechanic interests in regard to it—a view that comprehends them as members of the white race. To offer to them this concession, is to give them a stone when they ask for bread—it is to give them a partial and doubtful benefit, at the expense of their permanent and general well-being. How insignificant does this outcry in their behalf appear, when we reflect how immeasurably important is the preservation of the institution of all the people of the white race. Talk about competition of labor! Go to Jamaica where the emancipation system by peaceful means has been tried, or to Hayti, where force has severed the normal relations between the races, and tell us what is the prospect there, for the white mechanic, or of any other occupation and art of peace? The white laborer who weakens this institution with a view to his personal interest, is more silly than the grasping idiot in the fable, who killed the goose that daily laid the golden egg, to get all its eggs at once; for while the latter got one egg, the former would destroy the source of employment and wages, with no compensation but ruin to himself and country.

In every point of view, we hold the agitation of this subject to be out of place, out of time, impolitic and mischievous. And we conjure the *Democrat* and the *Macon Messenger*, and all other Southern editors to look at it, in the light of forbidden ground—as the beginning of a revolution, which, if successful to the end, will make the South a Pandemonium on earth, unfit for the abode of the white race; and as the entering wedge to a final and disastrous consummation. Leave such topics, for Heaven's sake, to the speculations of Northern agitators.

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AMONG the associations here, the Yankee negroes act by no means an insignificant part. They are admitted into theatres, concerts, and many churches with as much deference as a fine white citizen. And they assert their dignity with an air of superiority which is really diverting, so long as they keep at a proper distance. I was not a little amused on visiting a town north of this, to find inscribed upon a screen before a barber-shop, the Latin motto, "*vincit labor omnia.*" Of course the knight of the razor was a classic-looking specimen of the *genus homo*, and I expected to find his tabernacle adorned with the busts and statues of many orators, poets, and statesmen of antiquity. At another time I observed at the refreshment room of a station-house, over which a sable son of Ham presided, the following notice: "No loafers ot *either sex* allowed here." This showed certainly great discrimination in Cuffie, which must be confessed was a little nicer than anything I had ever seen South.

A few days since, the Convention which I spoke of in my last convened in this city. The negroes of this State profess to feel very much oppressed, because they are not allowed to vote—and assert that they will agitate the question until their "white brethren" restore them their rights. The speeches on the occasion were characterized by expressions of the most ardent patriotism—oftentimes invoking the spirit of the revolutionary sires, who offered up their lives upon their country's altar, and whose bones whiten every plain, to look with compassion upon the degraded condition of their posterity, now downtrodden and insulted. Sympathy with their Southern brethren was of course expressed, when a fugitive from Kentucky presented himself and entertained the meeting with a narrative of his wrongs. Many expressions were not very palatable, being gross exaggerations of what truths were attempted to be uttered, concerning other sections of country, and down right libels upon the constitution and laws of this State. I was surprised to find that the authorities tolerated their assembling, to give utterance to any and every expression they might see proper. The truth is, that the negroes have heard the subject of their enfranchisement agitated so much, and have witnessed such increasing feeling in their favor, that they begin to think *they are* equal to the white man, and do not hesitate to assert it on every occasion. There are among the advocates for their enfranchisement some leading men, and the press is beginning to advocate their cause. The editor of the "*Palladium*" of this city does not hesitate to denounce all who oppose them. We ought to get such a fellow South, wouldn't he ride and swing too?

That the citizens of Connecticut, and well as most of the other New England States are eager to be goaded and pretended to sympathise with the negroes so long, that the result could not be otherwise than the present contest. The battle is entirely within their own borders. If they are victorious, no one will endeavour to deprive them of their laurels. If defeated, they will doubtless receive but little sympathy from any other section.—*New Haven Correspondence of the Columbus (Ga.) Times.*

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW YORK: THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1849.

NEW-YORK, Nov. 12, 1849.

S. H. GAY, Esq.,

Dear Friend: The accompanying Article kindly furnished by Miss MARTINEAU for *The Liberty Bell* I send for insertion in the *Standard*. It has been decided to defer the publication of the next volume of *The Liberty Bell* till another year, but as the subject of Miss MARTINEAU's excellent paper renders it particulary interesting at the present time, it is better that it should be published now.

Yours truly, A. W. WESTON.

Letter from Harriet Martineau.

October 1st, 1849.

MY DEAR ——: We can think of little else at present than of that which should draw you and us into closer sympathy than even that which has so long existed between us. We, on our side the water, have watched with keen interest the progress of your War of Opinion,—the spread of the great controversy which cannot but revolutionise your social principles and renovate your social morals. For fifteen years past, we have seen that you are "in for it," and that you must stand firm amidst the subversion of Ideas, Customs and Institutions, till you find yourselves encompassed by "the new heavens and the new earth" of which you have the sure promise and foresight.

We,—the whole population of Europe,—are now evidently entering upon a stage of conflict no less important in its issues, and probably more painful in its course. You remember how soon after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars our great Peace Minister, Canning, intimated the advent, sooner or later, of a War of Opinion in Europe; a war of deeper significance than Napoleon could conceive of, and of a wider spread than the most mischievous of his quarrels. The war of Opinion which Canning foresaw was in fact a war between the further and nearer centuries,—between Asia and Europe,—between despotism and self-government The preparations were begun long ago. The Barons at Runnymede beat up for recruits when they hailed the signature of Magna Charta; and the princes of York and Lancaster did their best to clear the field for us and those who are to come after us. The Italian Republics wrought well for us, and so did the French Revolutions, one after the other, as hints and warnings; and so did the voyage of your Mayflower, —and the Swiss League, and the German Zoll Verein, and, in short, everything that has happened for several hundreds of years. Every thing has tended to bring our continent and its resident nations to the knowledge that the first principles of social liberty have now to be asserted and contended for, and to prepare the assertors for the greatest conflict that the human race has yet witnessed. It is my belief that the war has actually begun, and that, though there may be occasional lulls, no man now living will see the end of it.

Russia is more Asiatic than European. It is obscure to us who live nearest to her where her power resides. We know only that it is not with the Emperor, nor yet with the people. The Emperor is evidently a mere show,—being nothing except while he fulfils the policy or pleasure of the unnamed power which we cannot discern. But, though the ruling power is obscure, the policy is clear enough. The aim is to maintain and extend despotism; and the means chosen are the repression of mind, the corruption of conscience, and the reduction of the whole composite population of Russia to a brute machine. For a great lapse of time, no quarter of a century has passed without some country and nation having fallen in, and become a compartment of the great machine; and, the fact being so, the most peace-loving of us can hardly be sorry that the time has come for deciding whether this is to go on,—whether the Asiatic principle and method of social life are to dominate or succumb. The struggle will be no contemptible one. The great tarantula has its spider-claws out and fixed at inconceivable distances. The people of Russia, wretched at home, are better qualified for foreign aggression than for any thing else. And if, within her own empire, Russia knows all to be loose and precarious, poor and unsound, and with none but a military organization, she knows that she has for allies, avowed or concealed, all the despotic tempers that exist among men. Not only such Governments as those of Spain, Portugal, Rome and Austria are in reality the allies of Eastern barbarism; but all aristocracies,—all self-seekers,—be they who and where they may. It is a significant sign of the times that territorial alliances are giving way before political affinities,—the mechanical before the essential union: and, if Russia has not for allies the nations that live near her frontier, she has those men of every nation who prefer self-will to freedom.

This corrupted "patriarchal" system of society, (but little superior to that which exists in your slave States) occupies one half of the great battle-field where the hosts are gathering for the fight. On the other, the forces are ill-assorted, ill-organised, too little prepared; but still, as having the better cause, sure, I trust, of final victory. The conflict must be long, because our constitutions are, like yours, compromises, our governments as yet a mere patch-work, our popular liberties scanty and adulterated, and great masses of our brethren hungry and discontented. We have not a little to struggle for among ourselves, when our whole force is needed against the enemy. In no country of Europe is the representative system of government more than a mere beginning. In no country of Europe is human brotherhood practically asserted. Nowhere are the principles of civilization of Western Europe determined and declared, and made the groundwork of organized action, as happily your principles are as against those of your slaveholding opponents. But, raw and ill-organized as are our forces, they will be strong, sooner or later, against the serried armies of the Asiatic policy. If on the one side, the soul comes up to the battle with an imperfect and ill-defended body, on the other, the body is wholly without a soul, and must, in the end, fall to pieces. The best part of the mind of Western Europe will make itself a body by dint of action, and the pressure which must bring out its forces; and it may be doubted whether it could become duly embodied in any other way. What forms of society may arise as features of this new growth, neither you nor I can say. We can only ask each other whether, witnessing as we do the spread of Communist ideas in every free nation in Europe, and the admission by some of the most cautious and old-fashioned observers of social movements that we in England cannot now stop short of "a modified communism," the result is not likely to be a wholly new social state, if not a yet undreamed-of social idea.

However this may be,—while your slave question is dominant in Congress, and the Dissolution of your Union is becoming a familiar idea, and an avowed aspiration, our crisis is no less evidently approaching. Russia has Austria under her foot, and she is casting a corner of her wide pall over Turkey. England and France are awake and watchful, and so many men of every country are astir, that we may rely upon it that not only are territorial alliances giving way before political affinities, but national ties will give way almost as readily, if the principles of social liberty should demand the disintegration of nations. Let us not say, even to ourselves, whether we regard such an issue with hope or fear. It is a possibility too vast to be regarded but with simple faith and patience. In this spirit let us contemplate what is proceeding, and what is coming, doing the little we can by a constant assertion of the principles of social liberty, and a perpetual watch for opportunities to stimulate human progress.

Whether your conflict will be merely a moral one, you can form a better idea than I. Ours will consist in a long and bloody warfare—possibly the last, but inevitable now. The empire of brute force can conduct its final struggle only by brute force; and there are but few yet on the other side who have any other notion or desire. While I sympathise wholly with you as to your means as well as your end, you will not withhold your sympathy from us because our heroes still assert their views and wills by exposing themselves to wounds and death in the field, and assenting once more to the old *non sequitur* about Might and Right Let them this time obtain the lower sort of Might by the inspiration of their Right, and in another age, they will aim higher. But I need not thus petition you; for I well know that where there is most of Right, there will your sympathies surely rest.

Believe me your friend,

HARRIET MARTINEAU

THE LESSON OF THE PINE.

I go to the ridge in the forest,
Which I haunted in days gone by,
But thou, oh Memory, pourest
No magical drops in mine eye,
Nor the gleam of the secret restorest
That has paled from the woodland and sky:
A presence more sad and sober
Invests the rock and the tree,
And the aureole of October
Lights the meanest, but darkens me.

Thou pine in the distance,
That standest through sun and rain,
Meeting with graceful persistence,
With a graceful but sturdy resistence,
The storm's direst wrench and strain,
No thought of thy past existence
Brings thee pain:
Right for the zenith heading,
Patient of heat and cold,
Thine arms to the influence spreading
Of the heavens, just from of old,
Thou only aspirest the more,
Unregretful thine old leaves shedding
That fringed thee with music before,
And the deeper thy tough roots imbedding
In the grace and the beauty of yore:
Thou say'st not, "Alas, I am older,
The green of last season is sere!"
But loftier, hopefuller, bolder,
Conquer'st broader horizons each year.

J. R. L.

New York State Convention.

The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* has proposed the holding of a New York State Anti-Slavery Convention, and urges that the first of winter will be a suitable time for the demonstration, and that Syracuse will be the most appropriate place for the same. The proposition to hold such a Convention is a good one, and deserves to meet the united support of the Anti-Slavery forces of this State. Too little attention has been given, of late, to this quarter of the field. Ohio and Massachusetts have been cared for, to the neglect, if not at the expense of this, the most important State of the Union. The consequence is, our ranks are scattered, and are in absolute disorder—inviting rather than repelling the attacks of the enemy. We want a certain sound from our Anti-Slavery war trumpet, that we may prepare ourselves "for the battle." The *Standard* should have issued its call for this Convention at once, and not have left the question for holding it open to controversy. The Convention is needed—it ought to be held—and we are sure it would be largely attended. There are hearts in all quarters of this State, panting for an opportunity of meeting the radical friends of freedom in a grand Convention for forwarding the Anti-Slavery cause.

We reserve, however, comments of this nature, until the call for the Convention is duly issued. The North Star will then be found shining in the firmament to guide the hosts of freedom in the right direction.—F. D.

The *North Star* thus seconds the proposition for a State Convention. That we shall have such a meeting, our friend Douglass may be certain, is settled beyond controversy, for we are assured by many of the leading Abolitionists of the State, as well as himself, that they not only cordially approve of such a Convention, but earnestly desire it. We were made certain of this by private correspondence before the matter was mentioned in the paper. It is, however, still 'left upon to controversy' whether the Convention shall be one unmatched hitherto for the enthusiasm with which it is anticipated, and for the weight and character of the influence which it shall exercise upon the people; whether it shall draw together from every part of the State the scattered forces of our host, and unite us again into a band that shall place New York once more in the front rank of the Anti-Slavery battle; or whether it shall be merely a local Convention of the people of Syracuse and its neighborhood, one tenth of its members Abolitionists, and nine tenths nobody in particular who drop in as they would to see the last giraffe yet imported, or to listen to the most popular preacher of the day. We wish to be assured that the last will not, and the first will be the character of the Convention, and we want for this the assurances of many, and not simply of a few; we want to hear voice responding to voice from the mass of the Abolitionists of this State—from the farmer and the artizan, from the professional man and the layman, from men and women, from young and old, in town and in country,—cheering on each other, each and all, that not only that the Convention must be held, but that it *shall be* one worthy of our cause. We want to hear the voice of the PEOPLE. Let them assure us of their WISHES and their WILL. No matter whether this leader or that, this or that orator, however much we may revere the characters, and love the music of the eloquence of these men, shall be promised to be among us or not. Let the motive which shall bring us together be not a love of the intellectual excitement of listening to great speeches, not a pardonable curiosity to see, and desire to know the great men of the cause, but a sincere and earnest conviction that this Convention is needed to bring the Abolitionists of the State together face to face, and a determination that such a meeting shall not be without great results. For our part we should be glad to be one of a three-days' Convention, where not a speech should be made—where there should be work and not talk—or only so much talk, and of such kind as when men come together to build a rail-road, or a steam ship, when a thing is to be done, and the thing is to do it, not talk about it. However,—lest any body should think such is to be the character of the Syracuse Convention—we hasten to say we are promised already the presence of some of the most eloquent talkers in the Anti-Slavery cause, who, that thing being to be done, will see to it that it is done well.

Here, for instance, is a letter of the sort we want to see our columns filled with for the next six weeks. Our friend Burr speaks not for himself only, but for his neighbors, whom he has consulted, and who have sent us through him, their names to be appended to a call. Now who speaks next?

LUDLOWVILLE, Nov 4, 1849

To the Executive Committee of the American A. S. Society:

DEAR FRIENDS,—Agreeable to a Circular issued from the office of the "Standard," soliciting an expression of opinion in regard to the holding of a *Mass Convention* of the friends of the slave, at *Syracuse*, very soon, as a State gathering! would say in reply, that it would meet with great favor with the Abolitionists, myself included, in this region—and doubtless many will attend. Such a meeting is loudly called for by the people, who are the enemies of Slavery, where they may come together in a holy convocation, to compare notes, and as faithful watchmen upon the Tower, for the defence of truth and righteousness, and with the telescope of God's wisdom, look over the moral "battle field" and espy out every lurking place, or insidious approach of the enemies of human freedom, whether they be found under the wings of the *American Eagle*, and *bloody Constitution*, or the vile *Pro-Slavery American Church* and *Priesthood*. May the members of that Convention, if held, be endowed with power from on high, such as is promised to those who do the will of God, and their eyes be anointed with the clearness of God's infinite wisdom, that everything may be done to His honor and glory; and may the opening of the prison doors to the captive, and letting the bondman go free, be hastened as a result.

The blessing of God will attend such an effort, as a natural effect, as surely as in the natural World any effect follows its cause. This proposition is proved by "Christ's Sermon on the Mount" as well as by universal experience in all ages of the world.

Another reason why the Convention should be held is that this part of the vineyard has been much neglected of late years by the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the field left open most exclusively to those who would have Slavery abolished through the medium or machinery of politics, or not at all, judging from their periodical or spasmodic zeal, which is most fervent just previous to an election. We have had a specimen of late here in the person of H. B. Stanton, [who is a candidate for an office,] urging the friends of freedom and the slave to vote the coalition ticket of Free Soil and tried *Pro-Slavery Hunkers*—as though this last three of "Political *Abolition fanaticism*" was to give speedy emancipation to the benighted bondman. Nay, methinks that all such efforts are worse than futile, and but add new links to the fetters that go to bind his body and soul to his ungodly and inhuman task-master. The true remedy seems to be as it is suggested to the candid mind, to lay the axe at the root of the tree, [the Constitution] as it has borne nothing but evil fruit, and from its inherent qualities can bear no other. Let it be cut down Why should it longer prevent the growth of true freedom. All other modes of attack seem to be but lopping off the branches while the body is left full of putrifaction, to poison every new branch that may be added thereto, and will prove as visionary as "Don Quixote's" attack upon the Wind Mill—mutilating themselves, while the enemy instill at his post—or like the ascending an icy slope, receeding ten steps while advancing one. It is "climbing up some other way to Heaven," instead of entering the "strait gate" and pursuing the narrow path of duty, as is prescribed by the pen of Almighty Wisdom. Let us not linger longer upon the plains of *political death*, but fly as for our lives for the goal of peace and unadulterated rational freedom, and make this land what it professes to be, the home of the free, and the asylum of the oppressed. It is to be hoped that this holocaust for freedom may be but as a commencement of a series of a conventions that may be holden in this and the Western part of the State the coming winter—and an uprising of the people, take place all over the State and land, until they like Samson shall burst the withes of a *Pro-Slavery compact*, which the "*Delilah*" of Slavery has bound them with, that we may no longer be the sport of the Southern Philistines. For the "good time coming we will wait a little longer." "God speed the right."

Yours, for the man that fell among thieves,

J. A. BURR.

FREE PRODUCE.—The editor of the *Standard* thinks he could discern "a marked change" in the opinions of the Pennsylvania Abolitionists, on the subject of Free Produce, as manifested at our annual meeting. It seemed to him that their faith was not so strong as formerly, and that their conviction of the duty of abstinence from slave-grown products, had dwindled into a mere preference for the product of free labor where it could be conveniently obtained. We think that he has underrated the faith and the zeal of the Pennsylvania Abolitionists, in this matter, and are half inclined to suspect that sin "wish was father to his thought." We readily, though sorrowfully, acknowledge that the principle in question is not so generally received and so faithfully applied, as its importance demands, but in justice to a large body of Pennsylvania Abolitionists, we must say that a strong testimony has, in this respect, been borne by them, against American Slavery, and that they are actively exerting themselves to enlist the consciences and hearts of the friends of the slave generally, in this department of our work. We trust that they will be increasingly diligent and hopeful. We are sure that such zeal and earnestness as theirs will never be satisfied with "a growing conviction that" it is "very well to avoid the produce" of the slave's extorted and unrequited toil, "when it can be done conveniently;" when, without much trouble, one can feed himself with sugar, and clothe himself with cotton, which is not moistened with the tears and stained with the blood of the slave. As to the discussion of this subject at the recent meeting, different opinions were of course entertained by the numerous auditors. We believe that the friends of Free Produce generally felt that the cause had not suffered loss by it, and that the attempt to maintain the righteousness of such a support of Slavery as is afforded by the purchase of its fruits, proved unsuccessful. We hope that they will show the strength and vigor of their faith by their works.

We copy the above from the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, cheerfully submitting to be corrected if we are in the wrong. The impression we received, however, came from the expressed doubts of, at least, two somewhat prominent individuals who had hitherto been advocates of the Free Produce doctrine, but who are now questioning whether that doctrine could be insisted on as a principle. We thought we saw and felt that there was more doubt in the assembly than we had ever before remarked at similar meetings in Pennsylvania, as to the correctness of the position of our free-produce friends. It seemed to us that many seemed to feel the weight of the objection—that that which it was acknowledged could not be carried out, could not be insisted on as a principle; and that the objection was not answered by the reply, that if carried out we must cease to exist. For if a principle, and therefore a duty, we should act in obedience to it though at the expense of life. "It is necessary to live," said a suitor for royal bounty to Cardinal Richilieu. "I do not see the necessity," replied the Cardinal. It is not necessary to live, but it is necessary to do right.

THE BAZAARS.—The last No. of the *North Star*, speaking of the Edinburg Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society says:

This Society has been applied to for assistance by the the managers of the Philadelphia Bazaar, but they have resolved to send, as formerly to Boston.

There is we apprehend, some mistake here, as thus stated it would seem to intimate an intention on the part of Philadelphia Committee to draw to their own Fair some portion of the contributions which have hitherto been sent from abroad to the Boston Bazaar. The statement, we presume, was made inadvertently, and we call the attention of our Philadelphia friends to it, that it may not pass uncorrected.

The Abolitionists of 1835 have joined hands with Governor Marcy, who officially recommended the passage of laws for their repression; Joshua Leavitt and Edwin Crowell ate now fellow 'Democrats' abolition board, while Henry B. Stanton, the Abolition lecturer, and Joseph Reynolds, who voted in Congress to stifle the Right of Petition, are brother candidates for Senator in two adjoining Districts, supported by and laboring for the same party.

We beg Mr. Greeley to be a little more explicit in his statements. The Abolitionists of '35 are neither fully nor fairly represented by Joshua Leavitt and Henry B. Stanton. If the Old Hunkers have recruited their ranks from the Liberty party, the Liberty party men never embraced a majority of the Old Abolitionists. And even of that party its strongest and most prominent, and trust-worthy men, such as Gerrit Smith, Judge Jay, Beriah Green, William Goodell, and others, have not given their countenance to the coalition. *Fiat justitia, ruat calum*, neighbor—tell the truth though it ruins the Whigs! Of those who in '33 formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, by far the larger proportion who are now known at all as Abolitionists, may still be found among its members.

The Case of Luther A. Donnell.

Since the publication of Dr. Brooke's letter in the last *Standard* respecting the case, we have seen in the *Free Territory Sentinel* the statement of Mr Donnell himself. It differs in no respect, of course, from that made by Dr. Brooke, but relates some particulars a little more minutely. We copy the main portion of Mr. Donnell's letter for that reason, and that we may again call the attention of our readers to this outrage upon justice, but very legitimate result of the Constitutional Compromise:

A Statement of Facts connected with the Slave Case of Luther A. Donnell.

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify, that about the first day of November, 1847, I was called upon by some colored men of Decatur county, Indiana, where I reside, who informed me that a certain negro catcher in the neighborhood, by the name of Woodson Clark, had taken up a strange colored woman and four children, and that they believed he at that time had them locked up. They told me they feared he would run them off into bondage that night, it then being near dark, without first giving them a legal trial as he had before that time taken up a free colored man, a citizen of Wayne county, who had come to Decatur county to see his aunt. I was urged to interfere in behalf of the woman and her children, and immediately went to Greensburg, a distance of ten miles, and by the advice of a lawyer, obtained from one of our Associate Judges a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and had it duly served on Clark, who by this time had run the negroes off to his sons, and there concealed them. Two of the young Mr. Hamilton's and myself accompanied the officer when he went to serve the writ on Clark, who then denied having any knowledge of the woman and her children. We then gave up the pursuit, and Clark threatened to make me suffer for coming to his house in the night on the hunt of "niggers." Shortly after this a colored man of the settlement found the woman and her children, and removed them from the fodder house, where Clark had concealed them, into Franklin county, I having no knowledge of it till the next day. I neither directly nor indirectly aided in removing them from that fodder house, this being the turning point in the case according to the charge of Judge McLean to the Jury. The next day the owner of the slaves came to Clark's offering a reward of five or six hundred dollars for their apprehension, but he never got them. Clark failing to get the reward, seemed anxious to vent his spite in some way upon me, repeating his threats, and declaring that he regretted he had not "put a ball through Donnell the night the writ was served." He happened to be a member of the Grand Jury for the next Term of the Decatur Circuit Court, and was of course a witness against me. His son, Richard Clark, was before the Grand Jury, and testified, that I, in company with William Hamilton, came to his fodder house, removed the negroes, and conveyed them off. I have already positively denied the truth of this statement, and would appear to my denial in any Court of Justice; but I could not clear myself without the testimony of Wm. Hamilton, who was joined with me in the suit, and could not therefore be a witness. This joinder was doubtless designed as an advantage over me, for Hamilton is quite a young man without any property, out of which damages could be made. Five indictments were found against me in the Decatur Circuit Court, on one of which I was found guilty and fined fifty dollars, the costs amounting to one hundred and twenty-five or thirty dollars, the others being non-prossed for the want of testimony from Kentucky as to the escape of the slaves. In the suit before alluded to, in the United States Court, I was adjudged to pay the value of the slaves, estimated at $1800, and the costs, amounting to $1000 besides the lawyers fees. Altogether, I am bound for nearly $3,000, and am liable besides to pay a penalty of five hundred dollars to the plaintiff, to be recovered in an action of Debt, under the same law, giving the right to sue for the value of the slaves.

Mr. Donnell adds that he cannot reproach himself for anything he has done in the matter, "yet the most of what I am worth in the world and have toiled hard for, will be swept from me, unless aided by others." Eight hundred dollars have been subscribed in his own neighborhood for his relief, and he has only from the date of his letter—October—to the 1st of January, to raise the balance. Surely this is a case which should appeal to those who are stewards of wealth, though they may not be Abolitionists.

ANOTHER ABOLITIONIST, named Rogers, has been pestering Father Mathew, but with worse success than Garrison! The best evidence of the worthlessness of these men is the fact, that the better they are known, the more they are despised, even by persons previously prejudiced in their favor. They are so hypocritically deceitful in their pretensions to philanthropy, that no sensible man can come in contact with them for a moment, without discovering that it has no better foundation than cant, humbug, and pharasaical self-righteousness.—*The* (Jackson) *Mississippi Gazette.*

FATHER MATHEW AND THE ABOLITIONISTS.—William Lloyd Garrison and his coadjutors have made a desperate attempt to entangle Father Mathew in the cause of Abolitionism. The great apostle of Temperance, however, had too much wisdom to be diverted from his mission for partisan purposes. When an invitation, in behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was delivered to him, requesting him to be present at the anniversary of British West India Emancipation, he replied: "I have as much as I can do to save men from the slavery of intemperance, without attempting the overthrow of any other kind of slavery. Besides, it would not be proper for me to commit myself on a question like this, under present circumstances. I am a Catholic priest; but, being here to promote the cause of Temperance, I should not be justified in turning aside from my mission, for the purpose of subserving Catholicism."

Whatever Father Mathew's views may be upon the question of Slavery, he certainly acted with prudence in resisting the solicitations of those who would narrow his sphere of action and usefulness. The mortification which Garrison felt, because he could not induce Father Mathew to engage in the cause of Abolitionism is described in the last paragraph of a letter written by him upon their interview. "What gave me special surprise and afflicted the deepest wound upon my spirit," he says, "was the apparent lack of all sympathy for the slave—of all interest in the Anti-Slavery movement. Not a syllable fell from his lips expressive of pleasure that the American slave has his faithful and devoted advocates—or of joy at the emancipation of eight hundred thousand bondmen in the British Isles! It is with great sorrow of heart I lay these facts before America, Ireland, and the world" Father Mathew has probably seen enough of the world, to convince him that Slavery does not exist so much in *name* as in *fact*. The paupers of England, the serfs of Russia, the peons of Mexico, and even the negroes of the Northern States are, generally speaking, in a much worse condition than the slaves of the Southern States—so far, at least, as the comforts and pleasures of life are concerned.—*The* (Austin) *Texas State Gazette.*

We add the above to the other evidence which we have, from time to time, published, as to how the slaveholders themselves regard the influence of Father Mathew on the question of Slavery. We have yet to see the first expression of a fear in a Southern paper that the "Apostle of Temperance" would also prove an Apostle to the Slave. So far as we know, he is praised by Southern editors, without exception, as an opponent to the Anti-Slavery cause.

☞ The *Syracuse Reveille* denies that Henry B. Stanton was ever, as stated in a recent No. of the *Standard*, a Whig. The *Reveille* professes to know 'something of his history,' and 'doubts whether he has changed his opinions in any respect.' We accept the correction, and cheerfully acknowledge our mistake in supposing that he was ever anything but an Old Hunker Loco-foco.

☞ The Richmond, [Va.], papers state that S. A. Smith, charged with assisting a slave to escape by boxing him up, has been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for four and a half years. The jury is reported to have been in consultation for 24 hours.—A motion for a new trial was overruled by the court, but a bill of exceptions was filed by Smith's counsel.

Mississippi Slavery Convention.

We find in our Southern exchanges the Report of a State Convention held at Jackson, Mississippi, on the 1st of October, called to consider the present aspect of the Slavery question, and the attitude it becomes the Southern States to assume at the approaching crisis in the history of their peculiar institution. The Convention, says a South Carolina paper, was very large, and made up of the most respectable portion of the citizens of Mississippi. It seems, nevertheless, that only thirty out of the sixty of the Counties were represented, and even these were not altogether harmonious in their views. A Committee of twenty was appointed to report Resolutions, some of which were adopted by the Convention—one rejected, and one which they did not report made the first of the series. Those adopted were as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That we continue to entertain a devoted and cherished attachment to the Union, but we desire to have it as it was formed, and not as an engine of oppression.

2. That the institution of Slavery in the Southern States is left, by the Constitution, exclusively under the control of the States in which it exists, as a part of its domestic policy, which they, only, have the right to regulate, abolish or perpetuate, as they may severally judge expedient; and that all attempts, on the part of Congress, or others, to interfere with this subject, either directly or indirectly, are in violation of the Constitution, dangerous to the rights and safety of the South, and ought to be properly resisted.

3. That Congress has no power to pass any law abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia, or to prohibit the slave trade between the several States, or to prohibit the introduction of Slavery into the territories of the United States; and that the passage by Congress of any such law, would not only be a dangerous violation of the Constitution, but would afford evidence of a fixed and deliberate design, on the part of that body to interfere with the institutions of Slavery in the States.

4. That we regard the passage, by Congress, of the "Wilmot Proviso," (which would, in effect, deprive the citizens of the slaveholding States of an equal participation in the territories acquired equally by their blood and treasure,) as an unjust and insulting discrimination—to which these States cannot, without political degradation, submit, and to which this Convention, representing the feelings and opinions of the people of Mississippi, solemnly declare they will not submit.

5. That the passage of the Wilmot Proviso, or any other law abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia, by the Congress of the United States, would, of itself, be such a breach of the federal compact, as, in that event, will make it the duty, as it is the right, of the slaveholding States, to take care of their own safety, and to treat the non-slaveholding States as enemies to the non-slaveholding States and their domestic institutions.

6. That the Legislature is hereby requested to pass over such laws as may, in their opinion, be best calculated to encourage the emigration of citizens of the slaveholding States, with slaves, to new territories of the United States.

7. That in view of the frequent and increasing evidence of the determination of the people of the non-slaveholding States, to disregard the guarantees of the Constitution, and agitate the subject of Slavery, both in and out of Congress, avowedly for the purpose of effecting its abolition in the States; and also in view of the facts set forth in the late "Address of the Southern members of Congress," this Convention proclaim the deliberate conviction that the time has arrived when the Southern States should take counsel together for their common safety; and that a Convention of the slaveholding States should be held at Nashville, Tennessee, on the FIRST MONDAY IN JUNE next, to devise and adopt some mode of resistance to these aggressions; and that this Convention do appoint twelve Delegates and twelve Alternates—being double the number of our Senators and Representatives in Congress—to attend such convention, and that the other slaveholding states be invited to appoint delegates agreeably to the same ratio of representation.

8. That in the language of an eminent northern writer and patriot—"The rights of the South in African service exist not only *under* but *over* the constitution. They existed before the government was formed. The constitution was rather sanctioned by them than by the constitution. Had not that instrument admitted the sovereignty of those rights, it never would have been itself admitted by the south. It bows in deference to rights older in their dates, stronger in their claims, and holier in their nature than any other which the constitution can boast. Those rights may not be changed—even by a change of the constitution. They are out of the reach of the nation. The confederacy may dissolve and the constitution pass away, but those rights will remain unshaken—will exist while the South exists—and when they fall, the South will perish with them."

9. That to procure unity and promptness of action in this state, this convention recommends that central or state association be formed at the Capitol, and affiliated county associations within the several counties of the state.

10. That we recommend to the Legislature of this state, that at its next session, a law be enacted, making it the duty of the Governor of the state, by proclamation, to call a general convention of the state, and to issue writs of election based upon the ratio of representation in the Legislature, upon the passage by Congress, of the "Wilmot Proviso," or any law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, or prohibiting the slave trade between the states, to take into consideration the act of aggression, and the mode and manner of redress.

11. That a committee of six be chosen by the convention to prepare an address to the people of the slaveholding states.

There is nothing here, certainly, that will set the Mississippi a fire; and the *animus* of the Convention is made more manifest by the statement that the minority of the Business Committee protested against the 7th Resolution which only proposed to call a convention next summer to "*devise and adopt some mode of resistance*" to the aggressions upon the slave system; and that the Convention adopted the 1st Resolution which the Business Committee did not report. This does not look much like a readiness on the part of the people of Mississippi to dissolve the Union. The majority of the Business Committee, moreover, reported the following Resolution which the convention rejected:

5. That the right to organize states in the territories of the United States, is limited to the citizen of the United States, and that the attempt now in progress by the present occupants of California—most of whom are Mexicans, Indians, negroes, and renegades from every European country—to foist a constitution and government without taking the oath of allegiance to the United States; without any intention of becoming permanent citizens of the country; and without that territorial pupilage through which our territories of the United States have passed, is a fraud upon the citizens of the United States, and ought to be resisted by such means as a convention of the Southern States may deem advisable.

This resolution embodies the views of Mr. Calhoun, and its rejection has saved the Convention from the dilemma in which it would have found itself involved by the last intelligence from California. In short, even if a Convention which could count delegates from thirty only of the sixty counties of the State, may be taken as a fair specimen of the opinions of the whole people of the State, the Resolutions which were passed commit them to nothing but a future Convention to "devise and adopt measures of resistance." Should that Covention ever be held, it will probably adopt a string of Resolutions with as many words and as little meaning.

Domestic Correspondence.

From Our Boston Correspondent.

NO. L.

THE ARGUMENT.—*The Correspondent maketh political hay while the Sun shines.—His sufferings.—But he comforteth himself.—He doth justice to Posterity.—And to the Union Tickets.—He exalteth his Prudence.—He is again at Dedham Conventions.—What they did.—Mr. Adams.—Mr. Jackson on the Third Party Exodus.—The Lamentations of Joshua.—Mr. Jackson on the heart of Mr. Leavitt, with the Correspondent's annotations thereon.—The Gap.—Mr. Edmund Quincy called on to fill it.—His modesty.—He defineth his position.—Singular oversight of Convention.—Culpable neglect of means of grace.—Faneuil Hall Meeting.—Overture by the President.—Resolutions.—Mr. Harlow, Massachusetts and Taylor.—Mr. Jackson.—Great Men and Little.—Mr. John Van Buren.—The Blunder of the Declaration of Independence.—The Party of Life and of Death.—What Congress should do.—The N. Y. Democracy justified.—No National Democratic Party.—Greeley and Seward.—Honest John Davis's epithet explained.—Taylor's bad faith and incapacity.—What Mr. V. B. expects of the Democratic Party.—His own antipathy to Public Life.—&c., &c., &c.*

BOSTON, November 9th, 1849.

OUR talk is still of Elections, and of strange conjunctions, with fear of change perplexing Whigdom. This will be all over next week, so it will be the part of a Correspondent, wise in his generation, to make the most of it while it lasts. This sort of hay must be made while the November sun shines, or not at all. The mischief is, however, that the interest in the progress of the harvest must be over by the time my load is ready for delivery, from the result of the whole crop being then made sure. However, I am not to be deterred from making use of any goods the gods provide me, by any paltry considerations merely affecting my readers. And, besides, it must be remembered that Posterity will have to rely upon my narrations for a round unvarnished tale of the contemporary events of which I treat; since I am, confessedly, the only perfectly impartial annalist, or hebdomadalist, of these times. And, though it has been pertinently asked, "what has Posterity done for us that we should trouble ourselves about Posterity?" still, I am unwilling that the Coming Man should live and die in ignorance or in error as to the state of politics in this our Parish of Massachusetts.

You, and Future Ages, must know then, that the work of Coalition between the Free Soilers and the Democrats has gone bravely on. Besides Middlesex, of which I gave you some account in my last, Worcester, Essex, Norfolk and Plymouth Counties, and very likely some of the others, have nominated union tickets.—Most of the towns in which there is a majority of these two parties are making their arrangements to unite on Representatives. As the result of the election will be announced in the same paper which will contain this Epistle General, I shall not hazard my prophetic character by predicting what it will be. A prudent Prophet never foretells an event distinctly, until after it has happened, for fear of accidents. But I must say that either things must be very badly managed, or an unreasonable number of Democrats and Whiggish Free Soilers must kick out of the traces, if the minority faction which has governed this State for years, by its skill in *leger de main*, do not find themselves, if not demolished at least very seriously damaged. There has, certainly, been nothing in the conduct of the Taylor Party, since last year, to diminish the minority of Twelve Thousand Eight Hundred in which they were then put by the other two. But as they have a large proportion of the Wealth and Piety of the State on their side, it is impossible to say what Pay and Preaching may not effect.

It was my lot to be again in the town of Dedham when the Second Conventions of the Free Soilers and Democrats were held to take up the mangled matter at the best they could, which they had left at loose ends on the occasion of which I told you in my penultimate The Conventions were very numerous and comprised most of the notables of the two parties. The Free Soil Convention was entirely unanimous in its action, and the Democratic very nearly so. A few 'unterrified Democrats' abhorred the very appearance of the evil of countenancing and coalescing with Abolitionism, of however mitigated a type; but the great majority seemed to think a peep into Paradise worth having, even though it were the Devil himself that held the door ajar. The Honorable Charles Francis Adams, the Free Soil candidate for Vice President last year, who presided over the Convention and headed the Union Ticket, cordially went in for the Coalition and made a very plain and judgmatical exposition of the common-sense of the matter. The Honorable William Jackson, also, though from another Church of the same Connection, was present to give the Right Hand of Fellowship at the Ordination of the two Colleagues. He gave a pathetic description of the afflictions of the Liberty Party Israel in their wanderings through the wilderness of Salt River, and seemed to think it hard that they should perversely turn their backs upon the Promised Land of Office, just as they had got a Pisgah glimpse of it. He enlarged, especially, on the groanings which could not be uttered of that Saint and Martyr, the Reverend Joshua Leavitt, when called upon to disgorge John P. Hale and swallow Martin Van Buren, at Buffalo. The wry faces he made were terrible to behold, but it is comfortable to know that when he had at last got the obnoxious morsel down, it sat as well upon his stomach as if it had been the Emancipator itself. But, at the time, Mr. Jackson assured us, it came near breaking his heart—"a heart," he went on to say, "*as big as that of an Ox*." I cannot speak as to the accuracy of Mr. Jackson's estimate of the *size* of the Reverend gentleman's heart, but I am quite sure that he is entirely right as to its *quality*.

Mr. Jackson's speech was made at the opening of the afternoon session, and when he had finished, as the Committee of Conference was not ready to report, there supervened a season of silence—a *hiatus valde deflendus*—an awful gulf into which no Free Soil Curtius seemed devoted enough to throw himself. Now it so fell out that Mr. Edmund Quincy, with whom, I think you have some acquaintance, was providentially present and a general cry went up from the Convention calling upon him to speak. That gentleman, however, with the modesty by which you know him to be distinguished from the common file of his countrymen, did not think so informal a call sufficient, under the circumstances. He said that the Convention had at its opening defined the orders and conditions of men that had the right or the privilege of Speech in it, and that he did not find himself included in either category. For, first, he was not a member of the Convention; secondly, he was not a member of the Party that called the Convention; and thirdly and lastly, he was not friendly to the Party that called the Convention. He did not, therefore, feel free to speak, unless invited to do so by a special vote of the Convention; in which case, he should be ready to utter the word that might be given him. You will be surprised to hear, that, by some strange oversight, the Convention neglected to pass this vote, and thus, doubtless, deprived itself of much wholesome doctrine! For I cannot but think, from my slight acquaintance with that gentleman and my imperfect knowledge of his character, that he would have given them some edifying truths, which, rightly taken, might have been sanctified to their spiritual and everlasting good. The Convention has much to answer for in thus neglecting the means of grace when brought to their very door.

Last night there was a large meeting held in Faneuil Hall for the purpose of hearing addresses from Mr. John Van Buren and others. Though the evening was what an Englishman would call "a nasty one," the Hall was entirely filled or nearly so. The Taylorites were represented by a small body of blackguards, who accomplished their mission by indecent disturbance and riotous noises, of which there was a running accompaniment from time to time through the evening. The President, whose name I could not learn, on taking the Chair, after the usual commonplaces, said that there were three Candidates for Governor, either of whom was probably competent to command the Militia and to appoint Justices of the Peace and Inspectors of Fish. But principles were involved in this election, of mighty moment and wide-reaching

Delegation in Congress had supported it. The Legislature had almost unanimously instructed the Senators to Democracy were in favor of the Wilmot Proviso. The vote for it. The exceptions were few and insignificant. The great majority of voters were opposed to Slavery. It had been said that the Hunkers had swallowed him. If they have, and they do not go right, they will find, as Sidney Smith said on a like occasion, that he will *disagree* with them. It had been asked what National Convention the United Democracy of New York would attend. He had been accused of dissolving the National Democratic Party, because he had stated the fact of its Dissolution. There were no such Party. What was Democracy in Vermont was a Penitentiary offence in South Carolina. He would vote for no man for President who was not opposed to Slavery and willing to go to the extent of N. Constitutional power to abolish it. The Democracy of New York, would send no delegates to a National Convention while the Southern Resolutions remained. Mr. Van Buren drew a very comical picture of that great Antithesis, Horace Greeley, and gave an account what he and William H. Seward had done and left undone, at Washington. If Taylor should veto the Wilmot Proviso, he said, it would disperse the remnant of the Taylor Party and therefore it would never reach him.—He is not Honest John Davis (probably so called to distinguish him from some other John Davis who was not honest) made a speech at Worcester of three hours and never mentioned Slavery!—As to Taylor, himself, what ever difference of opinion there might be as to who should be put into the Presidency, there was a very great unanimity as to who should be *put out of it*. His breach of his word as to policy and removals made him unworthy the votes of American Republicans. So did his incapacity, which made him but one of a Cabinet instead of the Head of a Nation. Formerly it was said, it took nine taylors to make a man, but now it took nine men to make a Taylor. He did not care if the New-York Democracy did not make the Slavery question a *test*, provided they did the thing it was to try. He hoped Slavery would yet be abolished by the Great Democratic Party. That it would plant itself on the basis of Human Freedom,—and, if necessary, elect a President by Northern votes alone!

Mr. Van Buren concluded his speech with a comparison of True and False Democracy and a Self denying declaration of his own personal dislike of Office and of his settled purpose to carefully avoid this object of his aversion. But my letter is inordinately long and must stop here.—D. Y

General Intelligence.

ARRIVAL OF THE EMPIRE CITY.

No Slavery in California.

The Empire City arrived at this port on Sunday, bringing news of a month since from California. The most important is the proceedings of a Convention of the people of California at Monterey. We give below the Constitution with which it is proposed that that Territory is to ask for admission into the Union as a State. By it, it will be seen, that Slavery is prohibited. The question now will be—will California be admitted as a State with such a Constitution? The most objectionable features of the Constitution—those referring to Indians and the Negroes, the correspondent of the *Tribune* says, were adopted by but a small proportion of the Convention, and will probably be re-considered. That the right of suffrage will be made to include any but *white citizens* is, we presume, not to be expected. It is gratifying, however, to be assured that the people of California themselves are determined upon the prohibition of Slavery. But the harder battle has yet to be fought for New Mexico, the people of that territry, are already taking steps to secure a Government for themselves.

BILL OF RIGHTS.

Sec. 1. All men are by nature free and independent, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

2. All political power is inherent in the people.—Government is instituted for the protection, security and benefit of the people; and they have the right at all times, to alter or reform the same whenever the public good may require it.

3. The right of trial by jury shall be secured to all, and remain inviolate forever. But a jury trial may be waived by the parties in all civil cases, in the manner to be prescribed by law.

4. The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind; and no person shall be rendered incompetent to be a witness on account of his opinions on matters of religious belief; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be so constructed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practises inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State.

5. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require its suspension.

6. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor shall cruel and unusual punishments be inflicted, nor shall witnesses be unreasonably detained.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, (except in cases of impeachment, and in cases of militia, when in actual service; and the land and naval forces, in time of war, or which this State may keep with the consent of Congress in time of peace; and in cases of petit larceny, under the regulation of the legislature) unless on presentment or indictment of a grand jury, and in trial in any court whatever, the party accused shall be allowed to appear and defend in person, and with counsel, as in civil actions. No person shall be subject to be twice put in jeopardy for the same offence; nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

8. Every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press. In all criminal prosecutions or indictments for libels, the truth may be given in evidence to the jury; and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged as libellous be true, and was published with good motives, and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted; and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact.

9. The people shall have the right freely to assemble together, to consult for the common good, to instruct their representatives, and to petition the Legislature for redress of grievances.

Any citizen of this State who may hereafter be engaged, either directly or indirectly, in a duel either as principal or accessory before the fact, shall forever be disqualified from holding any office under the constitution and laws of this State.—*Rejected.*

10. All laws of general nature shall have a uniform operation.

11. The military shall be subordinate to the civil power. No standing army shall be kept up by the State in time of peace, and in time of war no appropriation for, a standing army shall be for a longer time than two years.

12. No soldier shall in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, except in the manner prescribed by law.

13. As all men are entitled to equal political rights, representation should be apportioned according to population.

14. No person shall be imprisoned for debt in any civil action on mesne or final process, unless in cases of fraud; and no person shall be imprisoned for a militia fine in time of peace.

15. No bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligations of contracts, shall ever be passed.

16. Foreigners who are, or who may hereafter become *bonafide* residents of this State, shall enjoy the same rights in respect to the possession, enjoyment and inheritance of property, as native-born citizens.

17. NEITHER SLAVERY, NOR INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE UNLESS FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES SHALL EVER BE TOLERATED IN THIS STATE.—Passed unanimously.

18. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable seizures, and searches, shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue but on probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

16. Treason against the State shall consist only in levying war against it, adhereing to its enemies, or giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the evidence of two witnessed to the same overt act, or confession in open court.

20. This enumeration of rights shall not be construed to impair or deny others, retained by the people.

RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

SEC. 1. *Every white, male citizen* of the United States and every male citizen of Mexico, (Indians, Africans and descendants of Africans excepted) who shall have elected to become a citizen of the United States under the treaty of peace exchanged and ratified at Queretaro on the 30th day of May, 1848, of the age of twenty one years, who shall have been a resident of the State six months next preceding the election, and the county or district in which he claims his vote thirty days, shall be entitled to vote at all elections which are now or hereafter may be authorized by law.

2. Electors shall, in all cases except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest on the days of elections, during their attendance at such election, going to and returning therefrom.

3. No elector shall be obliged to perform militia duty on the day of election, except in time of war or public danger.

4. No person in the military, naval or marine service of the United States shall be considered a resident of this State by being stationed in any garrison, barrack or military or naval place, or station within this State.

5. No idiot or insane person, or persons convicted of any infamous crime, shall be entitled to the privilege of an elector.

6. All elections by the people shall be by ballot.

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

SEC. 1. The legislative power of this State shall be vested in a Senate and Assembly, which shall be designated the Legislature of the State of California, and the style of their laws shall commence in the following manner:—"The people of the State of California, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows."

2. The session of the Legislature shall be annual, and shall commence on the first Monday in January next ensuing the election of its members, unless the Governor of the State shall, in the *interim*, convene the Legislature by proclamation.

3. The members of the Assembly shall be chosen annually, by the qualified electors of their respective districts, on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, unless otherwise directed by the Legislature, whose term of office shall continue one year.

4. Senators and members of the Assembly shall be duly qualified electors, in the respective counties which they represent.

5. Senators shall be chosen for the term of two years, at the same time and place as members of the Assembly. And no person shall be a member of the Senate or Assembly who has not been a citizen and inhabitant of the State one year, and of the county for which he be chosen, six months next before his election.

6. The number of senators shall not be less than one-third nor more than one-half the members of Assembly, and at the first session of the Legislature after this constitution takes effect, the senators shall be divided by lot, as equally as may be, into two classes. The seats of senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the first year, so that one-half shall be chosen annually.

7. When the number of senators is increased, they shall be annexed to one of the two classes, so as to keep them as nearly equal as practicable.

9. A majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to transact business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

10. Each house shall determine the rules of its proceedings, and may, with the concurrence of two-thirds of all the members elected, expel a member.

11. Each house shall keep a journal of its own proceedings, and publish the same; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house shall at the desire of any three members present, be entered upon the journal.

12. Members of the Legislature shall in all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest; nor shall they be subject to any civil process during the session of the Legislature, nor for fifteen days next before the commencement and after the termination of each session.

13. When vacancies occur in either house, the Governor, or the person exercising the functions of the Governor, shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

14. The doors of each house shall be open, except on such occasions as, in the opinion of the house, may require secrecy.

15. Neither house shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which they may be sitting.

16. Any bill may originate in either house of the Legislature; and all bills passed by one house may be amended by the other.

17. Every bill which may have passed the Legislature shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the Governor. If he approve it, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it with his objections to the house in which it originated, which shall enter the same upon the journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, it again pass both houses, by yeas and nays, by a majority of two-thirds of the members of each house present, it shall become a law notwithstanding the Governor's objections. If any bill shall not be returned within ten days after it shall have been presented to him (Sundays excepted) the same shall become a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Legislature by adjournment, prevent such return.

18. The Assembly shall have the sole power of impeachment; and all impeachments shall be tried by the Senate. When sitting for that purpose the senators shall be upon oath or affirmation; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

19. The Governor, ——shall be liable to impeachment for any misdemeanor in office; but judgment in such case, shall extend only to removal from office and disqualification to hold any office of honor, trust, or profit under the States; but the party convicted or acquitted shall nevertheless be liable to indictment, trial and punishment according to law. All other civil officers shall be tried for misdemeanors in office, in such manner as the Legislature shall provide.

20. No senator or member of assembly shall, during the time he shall have been elected, be appointed to any civil office of profit under this State, which shall have been created, or the emoluments of which shall have been increased during such term, except such offices as may be filled by elections by the people.

21. No person holding any lucrative office under the United States or this State, or any other power, shall be eligible to the legislature.

22. No person who may hereafter be a collector or holder of public monies shall have a seat in either House of the Legislature, or be eligible to any office of trust or profit under this State, until he shall have accounted for and paid into the treasury all sums for which he may be liable.

23. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law.

24. The members of the Legislature shall receive for their services a compensation, to be fixed by law, and paid out of the public treasury; but no increase of the compensation shall take effect during the term for which the members of either house shall have been elected.

25. Every law enacted by the Legislature shall embrace but one object, and that shall be expressed in the title; and no law shall be revised or amended by reference to its title, but in such case, the act reversed, or section amended, shall be re-enacted, and published at length.

26. No divorce shall be granted by the Legislature.

27. No lottery shall be authorized by this State, nor shall the sale of lottery tickets be allowed.

28. The enumeration of the inhabitants of this State shall be taken under the direction of the Legislature in the years one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, and one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, and at the end of every ten years thereafter; and these enumerations, together with the census that may be taken under the direction of the Congress of the United States every subsequent ten years, shall serve as the basis of representation in both houses of the Legislature.

29. The number of senators and members of assembly shall, at the first session holden after the enumerations herein provided are made, be fixed by the Legislature, and apportioned among the several counties and districts to be established by law, according to the number of white inhabitants. The number of members of assembly shall not be less than twenty-four, nor more than thirty-six, until the number of inhabitants in this State shall amount to one hundred thousand; and after that period at such ratio that the whole number of members of assembly shall never be less than thirty or more than eighty.

30. When a congressional, senatorial or assembly district shall be composed of two or more counties, it shall not be separated by any county belonging to another district; and no county shall be divided in forming a congressional, senatorial or assembly district.

31. Corporations may be formed under general laws, but shall not be created by special act, except for municipal purposes. All general laws and special acts passed pursuant to this section may be altered from time to time, or repealed.

32. Dues from corporations shall be secured by such individual liability of the corporations and other means as may be prescribed by law.

33. The term corporation, as used in this article, shall be construed to include all associations, and joint stock companies having any of the powers or privileges of corporations not possessed by individuals or partnerships. And all corporations shall have the right to sue, and shall be subject to be sued, in all courts in like cases as natural persons.

34. The Legislature shall have no power to pass any act granting any charter for, banking purposes; but associations, may be formed under general laws for the deposit of gold and silver. But no such association shall make issue or put in circulation any bill, check, ticket, certificate, promissory note or other paper, or the paper of any bank to circulate as money.

35. The Legislature of this State shall prohibit by law, any person or persons, association, company or corporation, from exercising the privileges of banking or creating paper to circulate as money.

36. Each stockholder of a corporation or joint stock association shall be individually and personally liable for his proportion of all its debts and liabilities.

37. It shall be the duty of the Legislature to provide for the organization of cities and incorporated villages, and to restrict their powers of taxation assessment, borrowing money, contracting debts and loaning their credit, so as to prevent abuses in their assessments and in contracting debts by such municipal corporations.

38. In all elections by the Legislature the members thereof shall vote *viva voce*, and the votes shall be entered upon the journal.

39. *The Legislature shall, at its first session, pass such laws as will effectually prohibit free persons of color from emigrating to and settling in this State and to effectually prevent the owners of slaves from bringing them into this State for the purpose of setting them free.*

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

SEC. 1. The supreme executive power of this State shall be vested in a chief magistrate, who shall be styled the Governor of the State of California.

2. The Governor shall be elected by the qualified electors, at the time and place of voting for members of Assembly, and shall hold his office two years from the time of his installation, and until his successor shall be qualified.

3. No person shall be eligible to the office of Governor, (except at the first election) who has not been a citizen of the United States, and a resident of this State two years next preceding the election and attained the age of twenty-five years at the time of said election.

4. The returns of every election for Governor shall be sealed up and transmitted to the seat of government directed to the speaker of the Assembly, who shall, during the first week of the session, open and publish them, in the presence of both houses of the Legislature. The person having the highest number of votes shall be Governor; but in case any two or more have an equal and the highest number of votes, the Legislature shall, by joint ballot, choose one of said persons, so having an equal and the highest number of votes, for Governor.

5. The Governor shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, the army and navy of this State.

6. He shall transact all executive business with the officers of government, civil and military, and may require information in writing from the officers of the executive department upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices.

7. He shall see that the laws are faithfully executed.

8. When any office shall from any cause become vacant, and no mode is provided by the constitution and laws for filling such vacancy, the Governor shall have power to fill such vacancy, by granting a commission which shall expire at the end of the next session of the Legislature or at the next election by the people.

9. He may, on extraordinary occasions convene the Legislature by proclamation, and shall state to both houses when assembled, the purpose for which they shall have been convened.

10. He shall communicate by message to the Legislature, at every session, the condition of the State, and recommend such matters as he shall deem expedient.

11. In case of a disagreement between the two houses, with respect to the time of adjournment, the Governor shall have power to adjourn the Legislature to such time as he may think proper, provided it be not beyond the time fixed for the meeting of the next Legislature.

12. No person shall, while holding any office under the United States, or this State, exercise the office of Governor, except as hereinafter expressly provided.

13. The Governor shall have the power to grant reprieves, commutations and pardons after conviction, for all offences except treason and cases of impeachment, upon such conditions and with such restrictions and limitations as he may think proper, subject to such regulations as may be provided by law relative to the manner of applying for pardon. Upon conviction for treason he shall have power to suspend the execution of the sentence until the case shall be reported to the Legislature at its next meeting, when the Legislature shall either pardon or commute the sentence, direct the execution of the sentence, or grant a further reprieve.

He shall communicate to the Legislature at the beginning of every session, every case of reprieve, commutation or pardon granted, stating, the name of the convict, the crime of which he is convicted, the sentence and its date, and the date of the commutation, pardon and reprieve.

14. There shall be a seal of this State, which shall be kept by the Governor, and used by him officially, and shall be called the great seal of the State of California.

15. All grants and commissions shall be in the name and by the authority of the people of the State of California, sealed with the great seal of the State, signed by the Governor, and countersigned by the Secretary of State.

16. A Lieutenant Governor shall be elected at the same time and places, and in the same manner, as the Governor; and his term of office and his qualifications of eligibility shall also be the same. He shall be President of the Senate, but shall only have a casting vote therein. If during a vacancy in the office of Governor, the Lieutenant Governor shall be impeached displaced, resign, die, or become incapable of performing the duties of his office, or be absent from the state, the President of the senate shall act as Governor, until the vacancy be filled or the disability shall cease.

17. In case of the impeachment of the Governor, or his removal from office, death or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, resignation or absence from the state, the powers and duties of the office shall devolve upon the Lieutenant Governor for the residue of the term, or until the disability shall cease. But when the Governor shall, with the consent of the Legislature, be out of the state in time of war, at the head of the military force thereof, he shall continue commander-in-chief of all the military force of the state.

18. A secretary of state, a Comptroller, a Treasurer, an Attorney General, and a surveyor-General, shall be chosen in the manner provided in this constitution, and the term of office and eligibility of each shall be the same as are prescribed for the Governor and Lieutenant Governor.

19 The secretary of state shall be appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate. He shall keep a fair record of the official acts of the legislative and executive departments of the government, and shall, when required, lay the same, and all matters relative thereto, before either branch of the Legislature; and shall perform such other duties as shall be assigned him by law.

20. The Comptroller, Treasurer, Attorney General, and surveyor-General shall be chosen by the joint ballot of the two houses of the Legislature, at their first session under this constitution; and thereafter shall be elected, at the same time and places, and in the same manner, as the Governor and Lieutenant Governor.

21. The Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Comptroller, Treasurer, Attorney General and Surveyor General shall each at stated times during their continuance in office, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be increased or diminished during the term for which they shall have been elected, but neither of these officers shall receive for his own use any fee for the performance of his official duties.

The Governor may suspend from office the Secretary of State, Comptroller, Treasurer, Surveyor General, and Attorney General, during the recess of the Legislature, until thirty days after the commencement of the next session of the Legislature, whenever it shall appear to him that such officer has, in any particular, violated his duty, and he shall appoint a competent person to discharge the duties of the office during such suspension, and within ten days after the meeting of the Legislature, or after such suspension; if made during the session, the Governor shall lay before that body his reasons for such suspension, and the Legislature shall determine by joint ballot whether the officer so suspended shall be removed or restored to office.

MILITIA.

SEC. 1.—The Legislature shall provide by laws, for organizing and disciplining the militia, in such manner as they shall deem expedient, not incompatible with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

2. The Legislature shall provide for the efficient discipline of the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and musicians, and may provide by laws for the organization and discipline of volunteer companies.

3. Officers of the militia shall be elected or appointed in such manner as the Legislature shall, from time to time, direct, and shall be commissioned by the Governor.

4. The Governor shall have power to call forth the militia; to execute the laws of the State, to suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

STATE DEBTS.

The Legislature shall not in any manner create any debt or debts, liability or liabilities, which shall singly or in the aggregate, with any previous debts or liabilities, exceed the sum of three hundred thousand dollars, except in case of war, to repel invasion, or suppress insurrection, unless the same shall be authorized by some law for some single object or work, to be distinctly specified therein, which law shall provide ways and means, exclusive of loans, for the payment of the interest of such debt or liability as it falls due, and also to pay and discharge the principal of such debt or liability within twenty years from the time of the contracting thereof, and shall be irrepealable until the principal and interest thereon shall be paid or discharged; but no such law shall take effect until at a general election it shall have been submitted to the people, and have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election, and all money raised by authority of such law shall be applied only to the specific object therein stated, or to the payment of the debt thereby created, and such law shall be published in at least one newspaper in each judicial district, if one is published therein, throughout the State, for three months next preceding the election at which it is submitted to the people.

Article 9 was then taken up and passed, without debate, as follows:

MODE OF AMENDING AND REVISING THE CONSTITUTION.

SEC. 1. Any amendment or amendments to this Constitution may be proposed in the Senate or House of Representatives, and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of the members elected to each of the two houses, such proposed amendments shall be entered on their journals, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and referred to the Legislature then next to be chosen, and shall be published for three months next previous to the time of making such choice, and if in the Legislature next chosen as aforesaid, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be agreed to by two-thirds of all the members elected to each house, then it shall be the duty of the Legislature to submit such proposed amendment or amendments to the people in such manner and at such time as the Legislature shall prescribe; and if the people shall approve and ratify such amendments by a majority of the electors qualified to vote for members of the Legislature, voting thereon, such amendment or amendments shall become part of the Constitution.

2. And if at any time two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives shall think it necessary to revise or change this entire Constitution, they shall recommend to the electors at the next election for members of the Legislature to vote for or against a Convention; and if it shall appear that a majority of the electors voting at such election have voted in favor of calling a Convention, the Legislature shall, at its next session, provide by law for calling a Convention, to be holden within six months after the passage of such laws, and such Convention shall consist of members not less in numbers than that of both branches of the Legislature.

The Constitution, as thus presented, was reported after much debate upon the details, from the Committee of the Whole, which Committee at the last adviser was discussing the report upon the boundary of the State, which will probably be the well defined lines of the Sierra Nevada on the east, and the Pacific ocean on the west.

ELECTIONS.

The result on this State is not yet known certainly. According to the latest returns, Washington Hunt, Controller, Christopher Morgan, Secretary of State, Alvah Hunt, Treasurer, and Hezekiah C. Seymour, State Engineer and Surveyor, are chosen; the Senate stands 17 Whigs to 15 Coalition, and the House 65 Coalition to 63 Whig. Such is *The Tribune's* rending up this [Wednesday] morning, but subsequent returns may vary the result.

In Massachusetts the latest Telegraphic Dispatch from the *Atlas* office, Boston, gives the following result:

Returns from 281 Townships give the following aggregates for Governor:
Geo. N. Briggs, Whig—52,097.
Geo. S. Boutwell, Loco,—29,496.
Stephen C. Phillips, Free Soil,—24,108.
Scattering 48. Gov. Briggs lacks about 1,500 votes of an election by the People.

To the Senate, 23 Whigs to 13 Coalition have been chosen; 4 no choice.

To the House, 160 Whigs have been chosen to 98 Opposition.

[Very few towns remain to be heard from, and they cannot materially vary the result.]

Mr. Palfrey, we are very sorry to hear, is further than ever from being elected.

Charles King, Esq. late of the *Courier and Enquirer*, was elected last week President of Columbia College.

☞ The N. E. Non-Resistance Society will hold their annual meeting in Boston on Saturday and Sunday, 17th and 18th inst.

More Runaways.—Five negro men belonging to different individuals in Calvert Co. made their escape on Saturday night week, and were caught (the *Annapolis Republican* says) in the lower part of that county, and safely lodged in Anne Arundel Jail on the last Wednesday.

Norfolk County, Mass.—The union ticket for Senators in this county is: CHARLES F. ADAMS of Quincy, EZRA WILKINSON of Dedham, Maj. JOSIAH H. FRANCIS of Medway. It was accepted unanimously by the Free Soil Convention, and by the Democratic Convention, with four dissenting voices.

Married.

In this city, on the 7th instant, at the Church of the Ascension, by the Rev. Francis Vinton, D.D. AUGUST BELMONT to CAROLINE SLIDELL, daughter of Commodore M. C. Perry, U. S. Navy.

In Boston, November 6, by Rev. Dr. Peabody, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP to Mrs. LAURA DENT WELLES.

At Bolleton, on the 8th instant, by the Rev. Dr. Geer, Mr. MATTHEW GEDWORD, of Peoria, Illinois, to Miss CHARLOTTE YOUNG, daughter of Hon. Samuel Young.

Died.

On Tuesday evening, November 6th, after a lingering illness, in the 56th year of his age, JACOB ACKER, Esq., (late Sheriff of the city and county of New York.)

At South Kingston, R. I. SYLVIA TORRY, aged *One Hundred and twelve years.* She was imported into Newport, at the age of 8 years, and sold as a slave. Her death was caused by her clothes taking fire.

Obituary.

Departed this life, in Providence, Rhode Island, October 21, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, only surviving son of Amos and Sarah C. Redlon, aged two years. Our darling boy was a child of great promise and superior worth. His mental powers far surpassed those of most children of a riper age. His sensibilities were almost without a parallel in infantile years, and his personal charms such as led all who beheld him to exclaim, 'He is too beautiful for earth.'

Possessing all the natural elements of greatness, we named him after a great man—a noble champion in the cause of human rights; and we fondly cherished the hope that we should one day have the pleasure of devoting him to the same great enterprise. But he has passed away from our sight, and thus for the third time is the gloom of midnight cast over our earthly prospects by the death of an only son. But Christ is our light in darkness, while by faith we behold our departed ones in a land of perfect rest.

SARAH C. REDLON.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR

THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR will be open in *Faneuil Hall* on the morning of *Monday the 24th of December*, at 10 o'clock. We give this notice thus early, that all articles now in preparation may be sent in season, and that the friends of the Cause may the more conveniently make their arrangements. Ladies intending to furnish a table are requested to give notice of the same to the Committee, at as early a date as possible. Donations of Articles or Money may be sent to either of the Committee, or left, in the care of S. H. Gay, A. S. Office, New-York, or R. F. Wallcut, A. S. Office, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

In behalf of the Committee,
A. W. WESTON.

☞ Will The Liberator please copy.

CLARKSON ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

A stated meeting of this Association will be held at West Grove Friends meeting house, Pa. on Seventh day the 24th inst., at 11 o'clock, A. M.

A. PRESTON, Sec.

CONVENTION AT WESTFIELD.

An Anti-Slavery Convention, to be attended by CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., and LUCY STONE, on behalf of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will be held in WESTFIELD, in the Town Hall, commencing Saturday, Nov. 20, at 2 P. M., and continuing through Sunday, the 11th, day and evening.

BERKSHIRE COUNTY CONVENTION.

An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held, for Berkshire county, probably at LENOX, on Saturday and Sunday, Nov. 17 and 18, commencing at 2 o'clock, P. M., on Saturday.

It is expected that CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, LUCY STONE, and SAMUEL MAY, Jr., on behalf of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society will attend this meeting.

A more definite notice may be looked for next week.

SAMUEL MAY Jr.,
General Agent Mass. A. S. Society.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS.—Two or more agents of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will visit the Western part of the State, and holds meetings there, during the month of November, according to appointments hereafter to be announced. Communications from any of our friends in Western Massachusetts may be sent to the undersigned, at Springfield, care of E. D. Hudson.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,
General Agent Mass. A. S. Society.

SIXTEENTH
National Anti-Slavery Bazaar

The Committee of the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, deeply feeling their responsibility to the holy cause of Freedom and Humanity with which they are identified, have resolved anew to make their exertions for its promotion correspond with the greatness of its demands and the rapidity of its progress.

It is unnecessary at this late day to enter upon any formal exposition of the principles and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the support of which the funds resulting from this effort are devoted. The language of our last year's Ca. will express better than any other our present convictions of its necessity and value. Years of close observation of its righteous principles and uncompromising practical workings assure us that it has the elements of success. It continually sends forth lecturers to enforce the principles of justice and humanity among the people, and in a few years is found thereby to have exercised a controlling influence for good throughout the country. It dictates the course and bends the policy of every political party; and speaking as it does from a height above their selfish personal struggles, its words of everlasting truth are heard, and more and more obeyed. It has no local attachments, no sectarian or partisan partialities, no hidden aim, no double purpose." With this Society—in a word, rests the hope of the American Slave. Its continuance and increased success, the number of its agents and the circulation of its periodicals depend greatly on the amount of funds which we through this yearly effort are enabled to place at its disposal.

We regard the importance of the American Anti-Slavery Society as paramount to that of any other Anti-Slavery organization, and of course its claims for help and sympathy paramount to those of any other. Boston and its environs indeed supplies us with a market, but with a trifling exception barely sufficient to remunerate the expense of Anti-Slavery advertisements, not a cent of our receipts are expended in Massachusetts. In sustaining the Cause in her own borders, she asks no aid from beyond them, but relies entirely on her own efforts.

These being our circumstances, we appeal to Abolitionists EVERYWHERE, earnestly invoking of each aid and assistance proportionate alike to the dignity and necessity of the work we have undertaken. We are labouring for the establishment of those foundation principles on which the rights of all men must of necessity rest. Therefore to *All* we appeal in confident reliance on that common human heart whose unsophisticated instincts furnish our best hope of success.

The Sixteenth National Anti-Slavery Bazaar will be held in Boston, during Christmas week, and all desiring to cooperate with us are requested to communicate with the undersigned.

Anne Warren Weston,	*Louisa Loring,*
M. W. Chapman,	*Mary May,*
Eliza L. Follen,	*Sarah S. Russell,*
Ann T. G. Phillips,	*Ann E. Bramhall,*
Susan C. Cabot,	*Helen E. Garrison,*
Catherine Sargent,	*Maria Lowell,*
Henrietta Sargent,	*Abby Frances,*
Thankful Southwick,	*Harriet F. White,*
Harriet B. Hall,	*Mary Gray Chapman*
Francis Mry. Robbins	*Sarah B. Shaw,*
Caroline Weston,	*Evelina A. S. Smith,*
Elizabeth F. Eddy,	*Hannah Tufts,*
Caroline F. Williams,	*Harriet M. Palmer,*
Lydia Parker,	*Mary Willey,*
Sarah N. Southwick	*Elizabeth Gay.*

PENNSYLVANIA.
ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

The return of the season for our sale prompts us to send forth the word of remembrance to our fellow-laborers in this department of Anti-Slavery work. The success of past years should cheer and incite us to vigorous effort for the present year.

So fully have the various *Circles* throughout our bounds identified themselves with us in this work, and so much of experience have the past years given us and them, that all which we consider now necessary to be done is to revert to the necessity of continued effort on the part of all who feel that to them must come the folding of the hands, nor the repose of him whose labour is accomplished, while the slave is driven by the merciless task-master, and our brother continues weary and heavy laden!

We would earnestly invite the co-operation of all those who sympathize with the slave, and would help to overthrow a system at war with all the dearest rights of humanity, and the most holy relations of life.

We have been appointed by the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, a Committee to make arrangements for the Fair to be held the close of this year. Any persons wishing information may communicate with any member of the Committee.

Sarah Pugh,
Sarah A. M. Kem,
Huldah Justice,
Maria M. Davis,
Mary T. Stickney,
Emma Parker,
Rebecca Pumiley,
Elizabeth Davis,
Janette Jackson,
Elizabeth Carman,
Martha Carman,
Margaret Jones,
A. Matilda Cassey,
Clementine G. Ruby,
Sarah T. Child,
Anna M. Child,
Anna M. Hopper,
Mary Grew,
Elizabeth Gay,
Hannah W. Haydock,
Theresa K. Hallowell,
Margaret A. Gricom,
Hannah L. Stickney,
Esther Reckless,
Gertrude H. Burleigh,
Emily A. Wenlove,
Harriet D. Purvis,
Margaretta Forten,
Elizabeth Clendenen,
Sarah M. Douglass
Mary Shaw,
Esther Hogaland,
Priscilla Lackens.

Book Repository,

Publications on hand and for sale at the Office of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 142 Nassau street, New York.

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Considerations on the use of the productions of Slavery, 06
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Things for Northern Men to Do, 12½
The American Churches, the Bulwarks of Slav

Poetry.

GARDEN-FANCIES.

I. The Flower's Name.

BY ROBERT BROWNING.

I.

Here's the garden she walked across,
Arm in my arm, such a short while since:
Hark, now I push its wicket, the moss
Hinders the hinges and makes them wince!
She must have reached this shrub ere she turned,
As back with that murmur the wicket swung;
For she laid the poor-snail, my chance foot spurned,
To feed and forget it the leaves among.

II.

Down this side of the gravel-walk
She went while her robe's edge brushed the box:
And here she paused in her gracious talk
To point me a moth on the milk-white flox.
Roses, ranged in valiant row,
Think will I never she passed you by!
She loves noble roses, I know;
But yonder, see, where the rock-plants lie!

III.

This flower she stopped at, finger on lip;
Stooped over, in doubt, as settling its claim,
Till she gave me, with pride to make no slip,
Its soft meandering Spanish name:
What a name! was it love, or praise!
Speech half-asleep, or song half-awake?
I must learn Spanish one of these days,
Only for that slow sweet name's sake

IV.

Roses, if I live and do well,
I may bring her, one of these days,
To fix you fast with as fine a spell,
Fit you each with his Spanish phrase!
But do not detain me now; for she lingers
There, like sunshine over the ground,
And ever I see her soft white fingers
Searching after the bud she found.

V.

Flower, you Spaniard, look that you grow not,
Stay as you are and be loved forever!
Bud, if I kiss you 'tis that you blow not,
Mind that the pink mouth opens never!
For while thus it pouts, her fingers wrestle,
Twinkling the audacious leaves between,
Till round they turn and down they nestle—
Is not the dear mark still to be seen?

VI.

Where I find her not, beauties vanish;
Whither I follow, beauties flee;
Is there no method to tell her in Spanish
June's twice June since she breathed it with me?
Come, bud, show me the least of her traces,
Treasure my lady's lightest foot-fall
—Ah, you may flout and turn up your faces!
Roses, you are not so fair after all.

Miscellany.

JOHN HOWARD.

The *London Inquirer*, in noticing a new biography of Howard, recently published in England, gives so comprehensive a sketch of the life of that great philanthropist, and some extracts of such interest from the work itself, that our readers will thank us for copying it.

OVER Europe the name of Howard is accepted as a synonym of all that is exalted in action and disinterested in motive. Honored in his own day, Time has but hallowed his memory, and made clear the extent of the world's loss. His life is fruitful in lessons of wisdom. The silent record of great deeds preaches trumpet-tongued to the man of wealth and influence: it startles him with the consciousness of his own shortcomings, and shows him what achievements are possible to men, earnest and devout. In these times too, sordid and selfish as they grow, the history of such an one is needed to quicken our faith in disinterestedness, and show us to what humanity has attained and can attain.

Howard is supposed for some mystery seems to hang over the fact, to have been born in the year 1726. His father a strong-minded Puritan, had earned considerable wealth as a merchant, and retired from business about the time of his son's birth. Contrary to the supposition we should have been led to entertain from the tone of Howard's life, a mother's love and watchfulness were denied him. At school he was a dunce, and at no period could he have been termed a scholar. Dr. Aikin has sufficiently established the fact, though Mr. Dixon, in his enthusiasm, would supply this supposed necessary to perfection. Though born to the inheritance of a large estate, he served a considerable time as an apprentice in a Watling-street warehouse, and not until the death of his father in 1782, was business forsaken. The first notable incident in his career is his singular marriage. While living in lodgings in Stoke Newington, he experienced a very severe attack of illness, his life being almost despaired of. During the whole period of his sickness, his *landlady*, with the natural instinct of a woman's heart, tended him with judicious care, and eased his sufferings by her womanly attention. On the recovery of the patient, he, in gratitude, married her!—the good lady's protests notwithstanding. The bridegroom was five-and-twenty years of age, the bride fifty-two! The union was short, but neither party had occasion to regret the contract. She died in the third year of her marriage, deeply lamented by her youthful lord. Although the great work of his life had not yet commenced, the desire for action seized upon him, and hearing of the sufferings of the poor of Lisbon, caused by the terrible earthquake of 1758, he hastened to their assistance. France and England were then at war, the ship in which he sailed was carried into Brest and the prisoners treated with the utmost barbarity. Here, probably, the idea of his mission was first awakened. After a short term of imprisonment, an exchange of prisoners was effected, and the young philanthropist retired quietly to his small patrimonial estate at Cardington, near Bedford, having first effected the release of his fellow captives. After the lapse of three years he again married. Henrietta Leeds was a being worthy of the passionate devotion with which she was regarded by her husband.—Howard loved her with all the ferver of his soul, and when she died in giving birth to a son, he seemed for a while, in the intensity of his grief, to be lost to outward scenes. The day of her death was held sacred in his calendar—kept evermore as a day of fasting and humiliation. The desolate home was now intolerable, and Howard left for Italy and Germany. The deeply religious tone of his mind here becomes apparent. Religion dwelt within him as the all-vivifying principle. It gave the direction and color to every impulse and act of his life.

We must hurry over many important parts of Howard's career. In 1773, although a rigid Dissenter, he was nominated to fill the office of Sheriff of Bedford: the "prison-world" was opened to him; and he girded up his loins for the steep and rugged road he was henceforth to tread. The prison at Bedford, glorified by the long captivity of Bunyan, was a fitting scene for the inauguration of Howard in his new function. Towards the close of the year 1773 he began his tours of inspection, and was gradually led on to extend them into the nearer counties, then into the neighboring kingdoms of the British empire—then over the greater part of Europe, and, finally, to other portions of the globe. We will not stay here to describe the fearful state of the prisons in England at the commencement of his career. Let it suffice to say, that prisoners were confined in the most loathsome places, and treated with horrible cruelty. A man might be left to die of starvation in a goal for *not* being guilty of his crime—if unable to pay certain exorbitant fees. The criminal code was written in blood. A man might be hanged for stealing a hop-band in a garden at Kent, or purloining an old coat of the value of five shillings in Middlesex. And this was in the age of Pitt and Fox, of Burke and Sheridan, and Paley!

On the conclusion of Howard's rapid survey of the prisons of this country, the House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to cite him to its bar, to hear his report, and examine him thereupon. On the House resuming, the chairman, at the instance of the committee, moved, —"That John Howard, Esq., be called to the bar, and that Mr. Speaker do acquaint him that the House are very sensible of the humanity and zeal which have led him to visit the several gaols of this kingdom, and to communicate to the House the interesting observations which he has made upon that subject." He was accordingly called 'or, and in the name of the supreme Legislature of his country, thanked for his philanthropic exertions—"an honor seldom accorded by that body to other than the ministers of war and conquest. One of the members, surprised at the extent and minuteness of his inspections, requested to be informed at whose expense he travelled." "A question to which," Dr. Aikin says, "he could hardly reply, without expressing some indignant emotion."

His hand had now been put to the plough, and his life was devoted evermore to the alleviation of human woe. He penetrated into every dark nook and corner of the kingdom. Nothing was too obscure to escape his vigilance. Every prison, compter, or spunging-house, every hole into which unfortunate beings could be thrust, he considered worthy of his attention. At length in 1774, Parliament, roused by his remonstrance to some sense of its duty, passed two bills "for the better Regulation of Prisons," one of which abolished all fees, and gave the prisoner his discharge directly he was acquitted; and another which provided for the whitewashing, cleansing and ventilation of prisons, for the establishment of infirmaries, and for the erection of dungeons in which even offenders might live. Howard was ill in bed when these bills were passed; on his recovery, he revisited the gaols to see that the acts were duly enforced. In the following year he proceeded to the continent. He found such of the prisons in France as he was allowed to enter, in a much better condition than those of his own country. He visited successively, Belgium, Holland, and Germany; in many respects he found "correctional science," as Mr. Dixon calls it, more advanced than in England. The prisoners were mostly employed, while ours were simply confined and starved. On returning home he revisited many of the English prisons, and then left for Switzerland, where also he found prison discipline somewhat understood. After proceeding to Germany and Holland, he came back to his own country, still more profoundly impressed with the superiority of the continental nations generally, over our own, in this important matter. He had now collected such a mass of materials as no human being had ever gathered on the same subject, and he gave to the world his great work on the "State of Prisons"—The work, previous to its publication, was submitted to the criticism of the author's dearest friends, Dr. Price and Dr. Aikin. When it first appeared, it created an extraordinary sensation:—

"The fame of its author's labors—his disinterestedness—the purity of his motives in undertaking such a missionaryship—the courage and devotion with which he had executed it—the sublime confidence in which he had penetrated dark and pestilential dungeons, in order to carry thereinto light and hope; and to bring the fearful secrets of the prison-house before the world—also, some intimation of the sterling worth and originality of his private character, had reached, through various channels, the knowledge of his countrymen; and there was consequently a strong desire on the part of the public to follow his fortunes more minutely, and to trace the lines of his apostleship from his own hand. The interest here indicated was, however, chiefly of a personal or biographical nature, and such as would have attached to the record of any other series of striking adventures. Many others, though not so large a multitude perhaps, felt a deep interest in the subject of his inquiries; and there would necessarily be many whose curiosity would be excited by the Philanthropist's examination before the House of Commons, and the vote of thanks which that body had so publicly and honorably offered him for his valuable communications to it. Expectation was then generally and highly raised; nor, on the publication of the work, was it at all disappointed. The critical reviews of the day received it with great favor, and welcomed it with that most flattering of all receptions from such authorities—an ample share of notice, comment, and criticism. One and all, they bore the highest testimony to its author's commanding merits. The reading world—it was rather a limited one then compared with what it is now—appears also to have perused its contents with universal satisfaction and admiration. The meed of praise, of acknowledgment, was without stint or reservation—was free and full, as it was richly merited."

We can only indicate the course of his future career. His reputation rapidly spread over Europe; and on his third tour he was received in Holland, Prussia, and Austria, with the most distinguished honors. On reaching home after this tour, he undertook his longest and most laborious home-journey, traversing almost every county in England, Ireland, and Scotland. His inspection satisfied him as to the utility of his labors. Some of the more flagrant abuses which he had formerly noted had been removed, the gaols were almost universally cleaner, more orderly, and healthy. His thoughts again turned to the continent; there were yet vast regions unexplored: Denmark, Norway, Russia, Poland, Turkey, Egypt, Spain, and Portugal, "beckoned him to their cities;" and in 1781 he departed for the extreme North. On his return, he gave the entire results of his inspection to the public in a second appendix to his work. Twelve years had now passed since he had commenced, in the cell of John Bunyan, that gigantic labor that has rendered his name immortal. During these twelve years he had traversed every country on the continent, with the exception of Turkey; had visited, and minutely inspected, the gaols of all their capitals and principal cities; had travelled upwards of forty-thousand miles, and had expended upon these travels, or in relieving the sick and giving freedom to the captive, more than £30,000. While resting at his favorite estate of Cardington, that terrible destroyer, the plague, was perpetually in his thoughts. In 1785, although sixty years of age, he again quitted his native shores, with a view to discover some remedy for this foe of humanity. He visited the lazaretto at Marseilles, and, while the plague was raging, took his passage from Smyrna to the Adriatic in an infected vessel, with a foul bill of health, in order to be subjected to the strictest quarantine! His sufferings were fearful; and to add to his pangs, news came to him while in this horrible plague-ship, that his son, after a wild career of dissipation, had become insane! When the father returned, he found his son an incurable maniac.

Thus bereft of every tie which could bind him to his home, on the 5th of July, 1779, he took another, his last journey, feeling convinced that it would be his last. His intention was to visit Russia, Turkey, and other countries, for the purpose of extending his inquiries respecting the plague. At Cherson, he caught a virulent fever, taken while visiting a lady on the point of death; and here, far from home and friends, as calm and dignified as the heathen sage, and with a more blessed assurance and support, this faithful and devoted laborer departed from the scene of his labors, with a goodly sheaf of noble deeds to present to the Lord of the Harvest.—"There is a spot," said he to one at his bedside, "near the village of Dauphiney, that would suit me nicely. You know it well, for I have often said that I should like to be buried there; and let me beg of you, as you value your old friend, not to suffer any pomp to be used at my funeral, nor let any monument nor monumental inscription whatsoever be made, to mark where I am laid; but lay me quietly in the earth, place a sun-dial over my grave, and let me be forgotten."

While wavering between life and death, a letter from England was put in his hands, giving a favorable account of the health of his son. Like an angel of mercy sent from Heaven, this came to the dying man; giving the letter to a friend, he said, tenderly, —"Is not this a comfort for a dying father?" and in a few seconds the Christian patriarch was with his God. "He lived an apostle," said Bentham "and died a martyr."

THE FUNERAL OF HOWARD.

"His death fell on the mind of Europe like an ominous shadow: the melancholy wail of grief which arose on the Dnieper, was echoed from the Thames, and soon reëchoed from the Tagus, and the Neva, and the Dardanelles. Everywhere Howard had friends—more than could be thought till death cut off restraint, and threw the flood-gates of sympathy wide open. Then the affluent tide rolled in like the dawn of a summer day. Cherson went into deep mourning for the illustrious stranger; and there was hardly a person in the province who was not greatly affected on learning that he had chosen to fix his final resting-place on the Russian soil. In defiance of his own wishes on the subject, the enthusiasm of the people improvised a public funeral. The Prince of Moldavia, Admirals Priestman and Mordvinoff, all the generals and staff officers of the garrison, the whole body of the magistrates and merchants of the province, and a large party of cavalry, accompanied by an immense cavalcade of private persons, formed the funeral procession. Nor was the grief by any means confined to the higher orders. In the wake of the more stately band of mourners, followed on foot a concourse of at least three thousand persons —slaves, prisoners, sailors, soldiers, peasants—men whose best and most devoted friend the hero of these martial honors had ever been; and from this after, humbler train of followers, arose the truest, tenderest expression of respect and sorrow for the dead. When the funeral pomp was over, the remains of their benefactor lowered into the earth, and the proud procession of the great had moved away—then would these simple children of the soil steal noiselessly to the edge of the deep grave, and with their hearts full of grief, whisper in low voices to each other of all that they had seen and known of the good stranger's acts of charity and kindness. Good indeed he had been to them. Little used to acts or words of love from their own lords, they had felt the power of his mild manner, his tender devotion to them, only the more deeply from its novelty. To them how irreparable the loss! The higher ranks had lost the grace of a benignant presence in their high circle; but they—the poor, the friendless—had lost in him their friend—almost their father. Nature is ever true: they *felt* how much that grave had robbed them of. Not a dry eye was seen amongst them; and looking sadly down into the hole where all that now remained of their physician lay, they marvelled much why he, a stranger to them, had left his home and friends and country, to become the unpaid servant of the poor in a land so far away; and not knowing how, in their simple hearts, to account for this, they silently dropped their tears into his grave, and slowly moved away—wondering at all that they had seen and known of him who was now dead, and thinking sadly of the long, long time ere they might find another friend like him!

"The hole was then filled up—and what had once been Howard was seen of man no more. A small pyramid was raised above the spot, instead of the sun-dial which he had himself suggested; and the casual traveller in Russian Tartary is still attracted to the place as to one of the holiest shrines of which this earth can boast."

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

A VISIT TO AMBLESIDE.

MRS. FOLLEN sends to the *Child's Friend* a letter to her young readers, from which we copy a pleasant account of a visit to Miss Martineau, and the venerable Wordsworth:

DEAR FRIENDS,—My last was from Ambleside, in Westmoreland, England, if you will look on the map, you will see that this is in what is called in England, the Lake Country. Ambleside is a beautiful little village, with a very pretty stream, called the Rotha, running through it. It is surrounded by high hills: these hills have few or no trees upon them, but the mixture of gray rock and green grass which cover their surface forms such a beautiful coloring over their graceful and sometimes grotesque outline, that you would not have them other than they are. All the houses are of dark grey stone, and almost all of them have ivy and flowers round them. One small unique house was several hundred years old, and out of all the crevices between the stones hung harebells and other wild flowers; one side of it and much of the roof were covered with ivy, and it looked to me like a great rustic flower-pot; it was only about ten feet square. This was the oldest house in the village. A large well-looking inn had the words 'Salutation Hotel' upon it. I supposed this had reference to its duties of hospitality; but I learned from Miss Martineau, afterwards, that it was most probably a name given to the inn in Ambleside in old Catholic days, and was an allusion to the visit of the angel to Mary the mother of Jesus.

Miss Martineau's house is in the village, although you see nothing of the village when you are in it.—You drive up to the house through a shrubbery of laurels and roses and fuchsias, and other plants, and young trees and flowers, to the beautiful little porch, covered with honeysuckles and creeping plants.—The back of the house is turned to the street, and the front looks out over the lovliest green meadows, to the grand, quiet hills, sometimes clear and sharp in their outline against the blue sky, and at others wreathed with mist; and one might sit for hours at the large bay window in Miss M.'s beautiful parlor, watching these changes, and asking no other enjoyment.

But I will not tire you with descriptions of scenery; they are, I know, often unsatisfactory and tiresome. We witnessed, at our friends house, the beau ideal of a true and happy life, and that the ideas of duty and usefulness and happiness, which the faithless call visonary, may be real, and are eminently practical.

Miss Martineau took us one morning to Rydal Mount, and introduced us to the poet Wordsworth. He lives in a low old-fashioned stone house surrounded by laurels, and roses, and fuchsias, and other flowers and flowering shrubs. The porch is low, and all covered with ivy and other green vines. We found the venerable man in his low, dark parlor, there engaged in conversation with the Bishop of London. After a few moments he and his lady took leave; it was not till afterwards that we learned that we had been in the presence of such an important dignitary; if we had been aware of the fact at the time, however, we most likely should have experienced the emotion of awe more deeply at the thought that we were in the presence of the author of 'The Excursion;' and, very like, the Right Reverend Bishop might have acquiesced in being at least second in such a presence.

Mr. Wordsworth then very kindly took the trouble to carry us into his study, or library, and there he showed us an old piece of furniture, looking somewhat like a very large bureau; it was made of English oak, very dark and highly polished. It had the date of fifteen hundred *and something* upon it.—He told us that it was called an Almery, and was the place where rich families kept stores of all sorts for the poor; and that the one he showed us belonged to one of his ancestors. He then carried us round his grounds. He asked me many questions about the distinguised men of our country who had visited him. He spoke of some of them with an affectionate interest, and with great regret of the death of Dr. Channing. He said he had a real attachment to Mr. Allston, and liked his pictures better than any others, and seemed to think that he would have been more justly appreciated in England, and would have lived longer there. He evidently thought that the fine arts could not flourish in America. When we took our leave, I asked him to give each of us a leaf from a fine laurel tree near him; this he did very kindly, and smiled as kindly at my effort at a compliment, in saying something to him about one who had received so many laurels having so many to spare to others. We thanked him for his goodness in giving us so much of his time, and bade the venerable man good bye, very much pleased with our visit, and very grateful to the kind friend who had introduced us to him, and insured us a welcome. We shall never forget that day. Nor shall we ever forget any one of the fourteen days we pass with our friend. Ambleside is a very fashionable place for travellers to visit in the summer months, and we saw many distinguished and agreeable people. It appears to me that the English understand the art of conversation better than the Americans. After their late dinner they give themselves up to society, and they seem more entirely free and disengaged than we do. When they do unbend, they are more frank and candid than most Americans are, except with their intimates. They make you at home more easily than, with the best intentions, we do. I do not think they are more sincere in their hospitality, but they understand better how to exercise it.

I had a converstion with an intelligent lad of fourteen years of age, which impressed me very much. He was talking with me about our country, and finding faults with it of various kinds. While I could, I defended it. He thought our revolution was only a rebellion. I told him that all revolutions were only sucessful rebellions, and that we bore with the tyranny of his country as long as we could. 'I don't like the Americans,' said he; he blushed as he thought of the discourtesy of saying this to me, and then added, 'they are so inconsistent; they call themselves republicans, and then hold slaves, and that is so wicked and absurd.' He went on to say all he thought and felt about the wickedness of Slavery. I heard him to the end, and then said, 'There is nothing you have said upon that subject that I do not agree to entirely. You cannot say to much against Slavery; but I call myself an Abolitionist, and while I live, I mean to say and do all I can against it. There are many people in America, also, who feel as I do, and we hope to see it abolished.'

'That is very fortunate for my argument,' said he, 'but you dare not to say so in South Carolina. I hear that no Abolitionist can live there, if he says what he thinks. Is that a free country?' 'No,' I told him, 'I did not think that it was, when Slavery was in question; but he must remember that many good people were fighting against Slavery, and we hoped that it would yet be abolished.' But I could not but feel ashamed that one, almost a child, should throw this disgrace of my native land in my face, and I have no word of defence to utter.

While we were in Westmoreland, we made a trip of four days among the beautiful lakes of which, doubtless, you have heard. Miss Martineau was our guide and companion. We could not have had a better. She knows the name of every mountain, every lake, every glen and dale, every stream and tarn, and she conducted us through scenes of grandeur and beauty such as our eyes had never rested upon before.

We took a vehicle which the people called a jaunting car; it is a square carriage with two side seats opposite to each other, a door behind like a cab, with no top, and one horse. Two easy steps, and a door easily opened, let you in and out when you please. It holds four persons. The driver has a seat in front; under it he tied our carpet-bag, which contained our night gear, and never did four souls enjoy themselves more than we on this little excursion. I could not give you an accurate idea of what we saw, or of the pleasure we took. Think of coming down from one of these beautiful hills into Eskdale, Ennesdale, of walking four miles on the banks of Ullswater, or looking with your living eyes on Derwent Water, Grassmere, Windemere and many other lovely spots that you have seen pictures of and read descriptions of, and of being one in the pleasantest party in the world, as you think, stopping where and when and as long as any one pleases.

It was on this journey that I, for the first time, saw a real ruin. Our friends had not spoiled it by saying too much about it. The ruins of Calder Abbey I had never heard of; but no ruin can ever move me more; for, as I said, it was the first my eyes ever dwelt upon. One row of the pillars of the great aisle remains standing. The answering row is gone. Two tall arches of the body of the main building remain also, and different pieces of the walls. It is of sandstone; the clusters of columns in the aisle look as if they were almost held together by the ivy and honeysuckles that wave round their mouldering capitals with every motion of the wind.

FOLLOW HIM HOME.

A SIMPLE MINDED old country-woman who was one day congratulated on the apparent good qualities and disposition of her husband, replied in the vernacular of her native district,—"Ah! ye should foller'n whoam."

Follow him home! The phrase, though unpretending, admits of an explanation both wide and significant. What a different social state should we have had the world been always accustomed to follow men, things and ideas home. How much that is vague and mysterious, would now be clear and explicable; how much that is revered would fall into disrepute; how much that is contemned would rise into honor. And we may perhaps, without being over-venturesome, affirm, that the moral and physical world would not have been just as it is, had following home been an immemorial practice. The proposition may be supported by discussing a few salient facts in history. Had the priests of ancient Egypt been followed home, the pyramids might never have been built. Could Mahomet's disciples have followed him home, one hundred millions of people would not now be votaries of the crescent. Had Cæsar followed home the spare and abstemious Brutus, on the advent of the Martian Ides he might not have died under traitorous daggers in the capitol. Had the monk Schwartz been followed home by a cardinal's hat, or bishop's mitre, would he have invented gunpowder? Had the Romish churchmen followed Luther home, and searched the secret of his "heresy," what wars, persecutions, and miseries would have been spared to humanity. Could Papal nuncios have been followed home, people would not have been silly enough to endure the horrors of an interdict. Had the Danes followed home the minstrel, whose harp-strings charmed their camp, England might have waited a little longer for hundreds, tythings, and trial by jury. Had Columbus not followed home the Castilian sovereigns again and again, would he have discovered America? The queen of Scots might have saved her head had Elizabeth but once followed her home—to her private chamber at Fotheringay. If instead of shutting up Solomon de Caus as a lunatic, some kind patron had followed him home, James Watt might have found much of his work already done to his hand. Had Charles I. followed Hampden home on his first refusal to pay ship-money Whitehall might never have witnessed a royal execution. Had the Bedford magistrates followed Bunyan home, instead of incarcerating his body, where would be the Pilgrim's Progress? Could one or two of Prince Charlie's chieftains have followed the London Bank Directors home on that memorable "black Friday" in 1745, there might have been farewell to George I., and the Hanoverian dynasty. Could Napoleon's soldiers have followed him home, how brief would be the catalogue of his victories. Had Robespierre followed Collot d' Herbois home on the eve of the ninth Thermidor, the Carmagnole might never been danced and sung round his headless trunk. Had Fox followed Pitt home, there would have been an end of their rivalry. Had Walpole followed Chatterton home, instead of deceiving him with vain promises, a poet the more would have left immortal thoughts for posterity. When the hostile Philadelphia printer followed Franklin home, and saw the remains of a loaf on which the unconscious hero had dined, his hope of crushing his sturdy competitor vanished. Were slaves followed home manumission would not be long delayed; and if impatient turbulence could follow legislators home, it would put less faith in malevolence. Endless would be our catalogue if pursued; and chequered with the lights and shades of hope and fear, success and disappointment, joy and sorrow. Were we keen in the investigation of examples, we should find them resolvable into two great classes; those who *do* and those who *do not* follow home their thought. The latter comprise what Wordsworth calls "the dreary waste of common life;" among the former appear the world's heroes, whether good or bad. Homers and Neros, Ricenzis and Shakspeares, Machiavellis and Newtons. Beneficent or malignant is not now the question; was their thought followed home? Glance for a moment at the world of politics; what changes have been wrought by following a subject home. At first, the pursuit of it is laughed at as an awkward mistake; by-and by statesmen discover that there is something in it, and "get up" its elementary principle. At last a voice gives utterance to the ripened and multitudinous thought of a people—and the matter is settled, whether it be food-emancipation, or forest abolition.

If followed home, how much passed off as *being* would be detected as nothing more than *seeming*; ostensible reality would stand confessed a mockery and a sham. How much that has long been regarded with awe, would prove to be "pillared rottenness." We should get at the true materials for writing history. Party secrets would come to light; and the reason why, for many a struggle, be laid bare. All the world is kin; and we should not unfrequently find that had the victor followed the vanquished home, he would have seen cause to lament his victory. Links of union would present themselves, where nothing was looked for but points of repulsion. How much of modest worth would be brought to the day, and made exemplary, if followed home, which is now obscured beneath inexperience, or grinding necessity. Shyness and awkwardness in public would, when followed home, be found manifested in heroic endurance, or effusive tenderness.

Pretence and plausibility, whether clad in rags or attended by laced footmen, would hardly survive the following home. Track yon whining, coatless, and shoeless beggar to his lair; the shiver and whine have given place to a bold tone and rude bearing, as equipped with coat and shoes, he sits down to a *recherche* supper. Softness of speech, and suavity of demeanor would no longer be a cloak for nefariousness; nor sanctimoniousness for sincerity. Take that man at the dinner party; he is the life and soul of the company. His observations are received with respect, and his witticisms with applause. Over the wine and walnuts he has descanted on all that is noblest in public virtues. He has demonstrated what a public man ought to be, and sketched a character whose perfections would reconcile all discordances; but follow him home! As his knock sounds at the door, his little children shrink away and hide themselves in corners; his servant obeys the summons doubtingly, and his wife trembles; for too well she knows that the public moralist is a private tyrant. Political theorizing brings no domestic amenities; so easy is self-deception when not followed home.

Man is said to be a social animal; but, perhaps for social we ought to write gregarious. There is a going in a common direction; a union for warmth, protection, and procuring of food, as with the quadruped herds. But where is the ministering spirit, the genuine, active sympathy that prompts to follow home. How much crime, generated by ignorance and error, might be mitigated and prevented if followed home; how much virtue, trembling in the balance, be preserved intact. Who has not at some time or other, been followed home by a strange dog? How beseechingly the animal looks up when you reach your door; confiding in his instinct, yet doubting his reception. What has led him to single out you among all others? Friendless, he seeks a friend to be to him instead of his lost master. The poor may not follow the rich to his house, yet how many heart stricken mourners come forth every day into the streets of our towns and cities impelled by a desperate hope that some touch of sympathy will reach them at last. For years that faint and flickering gleam of hope is all that has kept them alive. Brightest and most fair in the morning it wanes at noon, and at night when they retrace their weary steps homewards is spent-dead; only to be resuscitated by the blessed unconciousness of sleep, or by a following home. And it is consolatory to reflect that misery is oftentimes followed home; that oil is poured into smarting wounds, and whispers of hope into forlorn and dreary minds. But the sisters of charity are comparatively few; and the sympathies of the time are for a following home that shall ameliorate rather than aleviate.

On the whole we may conclude that the practice of following home would, in many ways, be productive of good. The philosopher who wished for a window in every breast might have found this no unworthy substitute. But here, theory and practice are hardly to be reconciled. It is not likely that communities would submit to the social espoinage involved in a general system of following home. The possibility of such a system, however, might not unprofitably be kept in mind; and each one on arriving at his own door might ask himself the question—how should I act if followed home?—*Eliza Cook's Journal.*

GRANVILLE SHARPE IN HIS OLD AGE.—Like all men of that cast of mind, his humor was gay and festive. Among the barges which floated on a summer evening by the villa of Pope and the chateau of Horace Walpole, none was more constant or more joyous than that in which Granville Sharpe's harp or kettle-drum sustained the flute of one brother, the haut-boy of another, and the melodious voices of their sisters. It was a concord of sweet sounds, typical, as it might seem, of the fraternal harmony which blessed their dwelling on the banks of that noble river. Much honest mirth gladdened that affectionate circle, and brother Granville's pencil could produce very passable caricatures when he laid aside his harp, fashioned, as he maintained, in exact imitation of that of the son of Jesse. To complete the resemblance, it was his delight, at the break of day, to sing to it one of the songs of Zion in his chamber, raised by many an intervening staircase far above the temple garden, where young students of those times would often pause in their morning stroll to listen to the not unpleasing cadence, though the voice was broken by age and the language was to them an unknown tongue. On one of their number he condescended to bestow a regard, the memory of which would still warm the heart, even were it chilled by as many years as had then blanched that venerable head. The one might have passed for the grandson of the other; but they met with mutual pleasure, and conversed with a confidence not unlike that of equals. And yet at this period, Granville Sharp was passing into a state, which in a nature less active and benevolent than his, would have been nothing better than dotage. In him it assumed the form of a delirium: so calm, so busy, and giving birth to whims so kind-hearted, as often to remind his young associate of Isaac Walton's saying that the very dreams of a good man are acceptable to God.—*Sir James Stephen's Essays.*

INDIAN JUGGLERS.—One of the men, taking a large earthern vessel, with a capacious mouth, filled it with water, and turned it upside down, when all the water flowed out: but the moment it was placed with the mouth upwards it became full. He then emptied it, allowing any one to inspect it who chose. This being done, he desired that one of the party would fill it; his request was obeyed; still, when he reversed the jar, not a drop of water flowed—and upon turning it, to our astonishment, it was empty. . . . I examined the jar carefully when empty, but detected nothing which could lead to a discovery of the mystery. I was allowed to retain and fill it myself; still, upon taking it up, all was void within, yet the ground around it was perfectly dry, so that how the water had disappeared, and where it had been conveyed, were problems which none of us were able to expound. The vessel employed by the jugglers on this occasion was the common earthenware of the country, very roughly made; and, in order to convince us that it had not been especially constructed for the purpose of aiding his clever deceptions, he permitted it to be broken in our presence: the fragments were then handed round for the inspection of his highness and the party present with him. . . . The next thing that engaged our attention, was a feat of dexterity altogether astonishing. A woman, the upper part of whose body was entirely uncovered, presented herself to our notice, and taking a bamboo twenty feet high, placed it upright on a flat stone, and then, without any support, climbed to the top of it with surprising activity. Having done this, she stood upon one leg on the point of the bamboo, balancing it all the while. Round her waist she had a girdle, to which was fixed an iron socket: springing from her upright position on the bamboo, she threw herself horizontally forward with such exact precision, that the top of the pole entered the socket of the iron zone, and in this position she spun herself round with a velocity that made me giddy to look at—the bamboo all the while appearing as if it were supported by some supernatural agency. She turned her legs backwards, till the heels touched the shoulders, and, grasping the ankles in her hands, continued her rotations so rapidly, that the outline of her body was entirely lost to the eye, and she looked like a revolving ball. Having performed several other feats equally extraordinary, she slid down the elastic shaft, and, raising it in the air, balanced it upon her chin, then upon her nose, and finally projected it a distance from her, without the application of her hands. She was an elderly woman, and by no means prepossessing in her person, which, I conclude, was the reason that the rajah, though he applauded her dexterity, did not give her a proof of his liberality. We, however, threw her a few rupees, with which she appeared perfectly satisfied.—*The Oriental Annual.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

REPEAL REDUCED TO ITS LAST PENNY.—The price of admission to Conciliation Hall is now One Penny. The car boys in Dublin call it "THE O CONNELL PENITENTIARY."—*Punch.*

A negro having purchased a hat, was observed to take it from his head on the fall of a shower of rain, and to manifest considerable anxiety to preserve it from the wet. On being remonstrated with for his supposed stupidity in thus leaving his head exposed, he wittily observed, "Hat belong to me—head belong to massa."

A Turkish paper mentions the arrival in Constantinople of a most celebrated English economist, publicist, and archæologist, author, amongst other works, of the "Wealth of Nations" and the "History of Ghent"—Mr. Albert Smith. It is esteemed peculiarly fortunate that the Sultan will have the benefit of such advice in the present emergency.—*Non-Conformist.*

THE POWERS THAT BE.

A POWER OF EVIL.—That's Russia.
A POWER OF MISERY.—That's Ireland.
A POWER OF LUCK.—That's LOUIS NAPOLEON.
A POWER OF IGNORANCE.—That's Austria.
A POWER OF NONSENSE.—That's JOHN O CONNELL.
A POWER OF MISCHIEF.—That's LOLA MONTES.
A POWER OF FUN.—That's LORD BROUGHAM.
A POWER OF FOLLY.—That's our Colonial Government.
A POWER OF SLAVERY.—That's the United States.
A POWER OF GOOD.—That must be *Punch.*

[*Punch.*

Heriz Ben Pinchas, a learned writer in the *Jewish Chronicle*, says: "It requires not the gift of prophecy to foresee that, in less than a century, France will behold a Jew seated in the presidential chair of the Republic; we need not the skill of a soothsayar to foretel that, in less than half a century, the United States of America will own a son of Abraham for their ruler; and we need not look to the planets for the assurance that, in less than a quarter of a century, the Lord Mayor of London will worship his Maker at the altar of the synagogue."

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN AND THE CLAIRVOYANTE.—The *Manchester Guardian* affords to believers in mesmeric clairvoyance, additional security for the life and safe return of the distinguished explorer, Sir John Franklin, in revelations of "the Bolton clairvoyante," who informs the world, that "he has undergone great hardships, but has overcome them, and is in good hope of getting to England in nine months and a half, provided no unforseen accident occur." The statements of the mesmerised woman, extremly minute, were transmitted to our contemporary "by an officer of rank in the royal navy."

M. Cabet, the celebrated Socialist, and the founder of the settlement called Icaria, has been sentenced, by default, by the Police Court of Paris, to imprisonment for two years, to pay a fine of fifty francs, and to be deprived of his civil rights during five years, for having, by false statements, induced a number of persons to deposite various sums, their hard-earned savings, with him, for which he made them no return, beyond initiating them in the mysteries of Socialism. These unfortunate victims would have perished of hunger but for the humanity of some Dutch passengers on board. These facts were proved on the trial.

PRESENTATION TO ELIHU BURRITT, AT MANCHESTER.—We learn from the English papers that, a number of the friends of peace and financial reformers, admirers of Elihu Burritt, who is about to return to the United States, assembled at Manchester lately to present to that gentleman an address expressive of their esteem. Amongst the gentlemen present were Mr Joseph Sturge, Mr. John Bright, M. P., Mr. George Wilson, Mr. Kershaw, M P, Mr. B. Smith, M. P., Sir Elkanah Armitage, Mr. Edmund Grundy (of Park Hills,) and Mr. W. Rawson. Mr. Burritt spoke at some length in acknowledgement of the compliment.

THE TRINIDAD TAX ORDINANCE.—It is with great pleasure we (*Anti-Slavery Reporter*) announce the fact that Lord Grey has decided against the pro slavery ordinance lately passed by the Legislative Assembly in Trinidad, "for the purpose of promoting the industry of immigrants" brought into that colony "at the public expense;" for, notwithstanding he came "to the consideration of the ordinance with an earnest desire to feel himself justified in advising its confirmation," he was compelled on examination, to say "The objection which I take to the ordinance before me is, that the labor which it is proposed to obtain under its provisions would not be free labor, and the condition of the immigrants would be neither more nor less than Slavery, in a mitigated form, and for a limited period."

DR. LETTSOM.—We (*London News*) have received some letters on the subject of an epigram quoted in our last week's "Town Talk," two of which we give.

"A Constant Reader" writes:—

"In your last number you have given two versions of the epigram (one of the best of its kind) on Dr. Lettsom.—but both in the version quoted from the *Lancet*, and in your correction the point is worn away. The epigram was written by the late Mr. (afterwards Lord) Erskine, and was, I believe, spoken by him first in the House of Commons. It runs thus:

"When patients sick to me apply,
I purges, bleeds, and sweats 'em;
If after that they choose to die,
What's that to me?—*I. Let's 'em.*'"

Another correspondent says:

"I have pleasure (having read the epigram quoted by Dr Broke Gallwey in the *Lancet*, and alluded to in your last week's 'Town Talk') in sending you the correct origin and reading of the well known distich:—

'If persons sick apply to "*I*," "*I*" purges, bleeds, and sweats 'em.
If after that they chance to die, what's that to "*I*"—*I.*
Lettsom.'"

Mr. Maurice, author of a work on Indian antiquities, and an elegant poet penned it whilst on a visit at Grovehill Camberwell, the residence of his friend Dr. Lettsom. The kind but eccentric doctor adopted a peculiarity in signing his name by forming the initial *I* of gigantic dimensions. This is the *I* of the epigram. Mr. Maurice afterwards commemorated his visit to Camberwell by a very sweet poem called 'The Grove,' which will outlive that of his friend, the estate being rapidly converted into streets and terraces, and the axe having already removed many of the trees, including the celebrated oak which marked the site of the murder committed by George Barnwell. The *I* of the above distich, is not the first but the third person."

THE SHEPHERD BOTANIST.—At Eaux Bonnes, in the Pyrenees